श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : यह गलत बोलेंगे तो हम लोग क्या पूछेंगे नहीं ।

उपसभापति : बाद में पूछ लीजियेगा ।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : क्या घर में जा कर पूछें ?

उपसभापति : घर जाकर पूछने की बात नहीं है आप गलत डोर से उठ जाते हैं इसलिए यह गलत बात है ।

श्री राधाकिशन मालवीय : आप अगर इस पर अलग से नोटिस दे देंगे तो मैं इस पर जानकारी देने की कोशिश करूंगा ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now the Discussion on the working of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Shri Samar Mukherjee.

Discussion on the working of the Ministry of Home Affairs

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Madam, this debate on the working of the Ministry of Home Affairs is now taking place here under a new background. One background is that the Emergency Amendment Bill has already been passed. So we are be imposed. It is hanging on our heads. The implication of that Bill very much worried when it is going to has been discussed and it is such a reality that everybody is now feeling concerned.

The second thing is about Tripura. I gave one notice for making a Special Mention, but I have been asked to mention it in the course of my speech here. Yesterday there was a bye-election in Tripura. The constituency is Fatikrov. At 10 or 10.30 A.M. yesterday, the ex-Chief Minister who was here in our Politburo meeting, got a telephonic message that already six booths had been captured, the booths had been surrounded, no voters were being allowed to come, our election workers were not allowed to come, even our agents were not being allowed.

So I contacted the Chief Election Commissioner on phone and told him that I wanted to meet him along with the ex-Chief Minister because this was the development and the bye-election was going on there. He told me: "You send one written complaint and I will immediately ask our Chief Electoral Officer". He also told me that there was one non-official observer sent by him. He told "I am to move according to rules." Then, at 11 or 11-30 another telephone message came from Agartala, and there, our party had decided to withdraw from the election. Now our M.P., Mr. Narayan Kar, has come back this morning from Tripura. He gives the report that there are 23 booths and 13 have been captured by them. In the Fatikroy constituency where there are 15 panchayats, 13 panchayats are under our control and if there is a fair election there, they know there is no chance for them to get elected. That is why they have resorted to gangster methods. You see now our democracy has now started working under the Congress regime in Tripura.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): They are murderers of democracy.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: Later on my self and Mr. Nripen Chakraborty together met the Chief Election Commissioner here yesterday and gave these written complaints. And what are the facts?

A warrant has been issued against the election agent before the starting of the election—two three days before. The Reurning Officer has been promoted after the election was announced: he has been made a Sub-Divisional Officer after selecting him as Returning Officer, to oblige the Congress. Then there are warrants issued against 200 of our election cadres. house-to house attacks have been organised and near about 1000 workers of their contituency are not able to go to their areas. Another report is that voters are also not

able to go. Five hundred Home Guards have been brought from Agartala to Fatikroy without uniform and they are being used as goondas. After last election earlier about 2,000 of our cadres within the State have been driven out of their houses. Our offices have been attacked. All Ministers have set up their camps in the constituency. This is regarding yesterday's election.

After the new Government came into power, they have disbanded the municipalities, issued an Ordinance disbanding 704 elected panchayats and now they are going to disband the co-operatives. They have decided to completely finish off the Marxist Communist Party there. Our trade union offices have been captured, our party offices have been captured, our Party Secretary there, Mr. Bhanu Ghosh, has been attacked and injured and some other leaders were also injured. Our ex-Minister, Mr. Anil Sarkar, has been attacked and injured. Near about 2,000 false cases have been instituted against our cadres, including MLAs. A false case has been instituted against Mr. Narayan Kar, our M.P. here.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: They are observing parliamentary democracy?

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: So, this is the fear we have expressed regarding Tripura, and all opposition parties condemn this Government's action because, to get themselves elected they declared the entire Tripura as a disturbed area and deployed the military there. And what is the performance of the military after its deployment there? I am very sorry, unfortunately I have to raise the question of the performance of the military here. What is the serious implication of this? I think the Government should give serious thought because charge of rapes against the military is there. It is not simply brought by us. I have brought the full report of the paper—that is not our paper—"AAJKAL" wherein the reporter has given the full story of the atrocities with photos. In the "AAJKAL" the detail has been given. In the tribal areas also the atrocities have surpassed all previous records. I am not going into the details. What is the impact on the morale of the army? What image is being created regarding the army among the people? What is the future of the country if the army is being used in this way and army is allowed to do this type of operation? That is why, with a very serious concern, I am discussing the problems of Indian unity and the future of the millions of the people in our country.

A new background has been created not only by getting the Bill of emergency passed but by the demand by all the Opposition parties for resignation of the Rajiv Government and fresh election.

AN HON. MEMBER: What for?

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: We have explained why we have demanded these. After this Tripura incident what should be my reaction to the Rajiv Gandhi Government? Unless that Government is removed from power, there is no safety, no security, no democracy, nothing of the kind. Do you want to ask, after that, why we demand resignation of the Rajiv Government?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Democracy is not safe in the hands of the Rajiv Government.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: Coming to Punjab, what is happening now in Punjab? Yesterday, the day before yesterday we have read the speeches made in the AICC meeting, which have appeared in the papers.

AN HON. MEMBER: Written by Mr. Gopi Arora. That report has come in the press.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: Written by whom, I do not know. Two officers were there in the Working Committee meeting. The report has

[Shri Samar Mukherjee]

come in the papers. This is a very serious thing. I am not jokingly telling you only to denounce you.

Another view is involved with this. We have given repeated, positive suggestion. But you are moving in your own way. What is our suggestion? We have told that the problem can be solved only politically that the administration should be used to counter the terrorists and simultaneously the masses should be roused. That initiative is totally absent. A process started last year wherein we participated in addressing rallies jointly. How can the Prime Minister say publicly that the Opposition is not co-operating? We fully co-operated. We made proposals to have joint meetings, to mobilise all secular forces, those who want to defend the unity of the country. No initiative. On the other hand, when the Haryana election came, we saw that President's rule was imposed after praising highly the Barnala Government in the last President's speech. Do you think that the people of India are so fool that they do not know why President's rule was imposed? Anyhow, the Haryana people have given a reply. After the election results of Haryana, naturally the demand came that the Rajiv Government should resign. Do you not think that there is justification for this demand? Perfect justification. So, the future of the entire country is now very seriously threatened in the hands of the Congress Government at the Centre. The report is that the extremists in Punjab are getting arms from Pakistan. They are being trained there. They have openly declared that there should be no negotiation with the Government unless the Khalistan issue is the subject of discussion. You released those men who are the main inspirers of this Khalistan agitation. Behind the back you want some solution with the help of the religous Guru, Sushil Muni, but what is the position now in Punjab? All the Gurudwaras have been captured by extremists. They are under their control. The nephew of Bhindranwale has been able to unify all the extremists with your backing and with your help. Now the Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee and other religious institutions have been made irrelevant and the extremists are controlling them fully. What is the moral effect of all this on the administrators, police and army? They are getting demoralised completely because while they are fighting the extremists, you are boosting them, giving them credibility and bringing them to the forefront as the leaders through whom you want to bring solutions. This is a totally bankrupt policy.

Now the situation is out of your control. Everyday murders are taking place. Yesterday 15 or 16 people, including a Congress(I) leader had been killed. Day before yesterday our people had been killed. Innocent people are being killed daily. In such a situation what will be the reaction of the people? They feel that the Congress Government has totally failed to solve the Punjab problem. How will the solution come? This Government had totally rejected our advide and cooperation also. So, there is no solution unless this Government is removed from the Centre. This is the conclusion the people are now coming to.

Now you see what is the overall situation regarding atrocities on harijans, molestation and rape of women. In reply to an unstarred question on 25-8-1987 the Government had replied that rapes had increased by 20 per cent between 1983 and 1985. This aspect should be noted. Under your regime it is increasing. Molestation of women has increased by 28.3 per cent. Eve-teasing increased by 14.6 per cent. Dowry deaths have increased by 31.2 per cent. If all this is increasing under your regime, then what is the solution? Unless you are removed there is no solution. The more you are in power, the more it will go on increasing. This is the situation we have

reached. Earlier I have given you the figures to show how under Congress regime rich has been made richer. I have told you in my speech earlier and again I am telling you that before independence the assets of the Tatas and Birlas were much below Rs. 40 crores. According to the Government figure by last year these assets of Birlas had increased to Rs. 4,276 crores. They have increased more than hundred times under the "socialist" regime of the Congress Government and through your Five-year Plans. That is the figure given by the Government itself. Tata had increased assets worth Rs. 2,111 crores. Under these conditions we are very much worried about the future of democracy, unity and integrity of our country...how much time I get?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can speak for some more time. But time is over You can speak.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: So the situation has to be viewed very seriously. The price is rising continuously. Yesterday, I read in the newspapers that Rajiv Gandhi has given the slogan not only of "garibi hatao" but "bekari hatao" also.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: As if that is over.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: His mother gave this slogan of Garibi Hatao in 1971. Everybody remembered that slogan. हमको जिता दो, हम गरीबी हटा देंगे । गरीबी हटाओ हमारा नारा है ।"

We got our independence in 1947; now more than 40 years have passed. The "garibi hatao" slogan was raised by Indira Gandhi in 1971. The whole-sale price index is calculated on the basis of 1970-71 as base year. Now, when this slogan was raised, the base year was 1970-71, then, the wholesale price was 100. Now, it has come to 417. That is the last wholesale price figure, I have seen. The retail price has increased more as shown by figure the Labour Departmet prepared. The Government relies on it. Actually the market price is much higher than that figure. So after Indira Gandhi got elected by two-third majority in 1971 the price went on rising. The figure in the employment exchanges of unemployed is keeping on mounting. Side by side, the profit of Birla and Tata and all the big business houses is rising.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL (Uttar Pradesh): Samar Babu, we are discussing about Home Ministry and not Finance Ministry.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: All are Government figures.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): This discussion is on Home Ministry.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: All these questions pertain to national unity and future of democracy.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: That is why we are feeling very much concerned about the trouble in Darjeeling for Gorkhaland. Daily murders are taking place and you must have seen the newspaper reports that heads of two of our workers have been chopped off in Sanada, Darjeeling. day before yesterday. There should be public denouncement by the Government but the Government is keeping silent here. That Ghising is making statement "Even if the Home Minister calls me, I will not go. Let the Prime Minister call me, then, I will go." That means, he is getting some encouragement indirectly, from which source, we do not know. He should not be given any indirect encouragement in any way. There was some understanding between the Central Government and the Government of West Bengal. The Government of West Bengal has agreed and brought a Bill providing

some regional autonomy in the form of Hill Council. They have sent a copy of the Bill to the Centre. This was raised in the Lok Sabha also. Mr. Buta Singh has replied "We are considering these things." We hope at least in the case of Darjeeling, the settlement should be forced on GNLF. Now, from experience you see most modern weapons are coming into the hands of the extremists. Even in Darjeeling, GNLF follows are getting most sophisticated bombs, mines and other weapons. It appeared in the newspapers also that those foreign... *(Time bell rings)* I am to conclude at 1.30 P.M.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, your time is over.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: Now the question is the atmosphere of election is already there. This is our experience that whenever there is election, there are opportunist compromises by the ruling party with communal forces. Yesterday I read in newspapers the speech of the Prime Minister. He has accused all the Opposition parties that they are making opportunist alliances and combinations. You see, in Kerala, your party was in the Government in coalition with Muslim League, Kerala Congress and other communal parties. There should be some sense of shame when accusing the Opposition. Your party is in Government now in Tripura with TUJS support which is the most active secessionist force. When you accuse others, you should look at your own party. This is how the danger is coming for compromises and in the post also, the Government conceded to the Muslim fundamentalists by over-riding the judgement of the Supreme Court in the case of Shah Bano by bringing in another Bill. You know all this background. Then again when the Hindu anger developed, indirectly you encouraged Ram Janam Bhumi temple to be opened and you have created such a situation where the communal tensions are growing and increasing and you are encouraging all the religious fundamentalists but talking about secularism. This is our serious accusation against the Government and Rajiv's outlook about secularism is completely opposed to the real secularism. It is encouragement to all religious tendencies. Even the Prime Minister yesterday has told, we are now trying to revive our old spiritualism... *(Interruption)*... I have brought a newspaper and you see the television, you see the performance of the Ministers and the Governments, everywhere, they are encouraging religious, sentiments... *(Interruptions)*. So how secularism can be established. Today, the need is that entire secular forces of the whole country should be mobilised against the forces of secessionism and fundamentalism. There you are accusing us who are cosistently fighting against these communal forces and the secessionist forces and this is our basic principle, our entire outlook is for that. The danger of further disintegration, disunity is increasing day by day with the rule of the Congress. That is why for the sake of Indian unity also, for the sake of defence of democracy the Congress Government should be replaced from the Central Government. Whoever will come or whoever will not come, people will decide. We are not going into this. But the main fight should be on the question of policy and old moral values should be revived. But the way the Government is moving, all moral values are being completely eroded. A stage has come when serious thought must be given to the policies pursued by this present Government because the Government policy is to encourage monopolists, invite foreign multinational corporations who are helping these secessionists, the Khalistanis, these American imperialists and you are opening the flood-gate for them to enter not only into our economy but in our defence technology also, they have full scope and you are liberalising your economic policy and inviting them and that is why the country is further going deep into the crisis

and that is why it must be fought tooth and nail.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now the House stands adjourned for lunch and will meet again at 2.30 P.M.

The House then adjourned at thirty minutes past one of the clock.

The House re-assembled after lunch at thirty-four minute past two of the clock. **The Vice-Chairman (Shri G. Swaminathan)** in the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): Shri P. N. Sukul to speak now.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: (Uttar Pradesh): But where is the Manipur?

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Sir, should we wait for the Minister or can I start?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: There is no Minister here. It is an insult to the House that the Minister is not present here. This is the lackadaisical way they want to treat the House. I think we should adjourn the House for ten minutes till the Home Minister comes.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: No, no.

SHRI SURESH KALMADI (Maharashtra): The Minister should be there. Let us adjourn the House.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: How can you have proceedings without the Minister? The Minister must be present here. It is an insult to Parliament.

SHRI SURESH KALMADI: Let us adjourn the House for five minutes.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Call the Prime Minister. Is this the way you want to have Parliament function? It is an outright insult to Parliament.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka): You adjourn the House for ten minutes.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: They should apologise to the House for this... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): I am told that the honourable Minister is coming ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: The bell was ringing for a long time. But he has not come. He should come and apologise here. It is an insult to the House...(*Interruptions*) ...They should not take Parliament like this...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Sir, I think Mr. Buta Singh is having the AICC(I) hangover...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH (Bihar): You cannot continue even for a minute...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Sir, you adjourn for ten minutes. We cannot proceed without the Minister. There is no Minister... (*Interruptions*)...

I want to know whether the Government has resigned because there is nobody...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI BHUVNESH CHATURVEDI (Rajasthan): We are also following the rules...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You tell me whether the Government has resigned...(*Interruptions*)...

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEPTULLA (Maharashtra): Sir, it was Mr. Sukul who first pointed out this ...(*Interruptions*)... we are one on this issue... It was Mr. Sukul who has pointed out this...(*Interruptions*)...

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Adjourn the House...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): Wait a minute. While the discussion goes on, there should be at least one Minister who

should be present in the House and that is the propriety... (*Interruptions*)... Just a minute. I am informed that the Minister is just coming. So, if it is the sense of the House, Mr. Sukul can start and the Minister will come in the meantime ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: No... (*Interruptions*)...

DR. BAPU KALDATE (Maharashtra): No... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: The rules are violated... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh): There is no Minister. Who will reply?... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Sir, Mr. Buta Singh is having the AICC hangover... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): Just a minute. The House is adjourned for fifteen minutes.

The House then adjourned at thirty-seven minutes past two of the clock.

The House reassembled at forty-two minutes past two of the clock, **The Vice-Chairman, (Shri G. Swaminathan)** in the Chair.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS AND THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBRAM): I am standing to apologize to the House (*Interruptions*) I am standing here to apologize to the House. (*Interruptions*) My former tutor should wait until I apologize to the House. Sir, there has been some kind of mis-communication. I was under the impression, and both my colleagues told me, that I should be here at 3 o'clock. I have come well in odvance. But I will try to find out why the Minister who was supposed to be here at half-past two was not here. I think there must be some problem. We will try to find out. But I extend a sincere apology and I am sorry for the inconvenience caused to the hon. Members.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): Mr. Sukul.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Grants to the Home Ministry. In the morning when Mr. Samar Mukherjee was speaking on the subject, who was the first speaker, I was amused on some of his remarks which he made against the Congress Government at the Centre and in the States. For that matter, I can also tell you that in Kerala, in West Bengal, in Andhra Pradesh, in Karnataka and in so many other States there are non-Congress Governments today. Do you think that the law and order position there is very good, all right? In Kerala the Nayanar Ministry has been there for one year, and in one year alone in that petty, small State there have been more than 400 murders, including so many political murders. Similarly, in West Bengal and Karnataka. In Kerala, it came out in newspapers, a Harijan boy called Babu—the CPM workers made him eat human excreta and drink urine. (*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER: This incident happened in Karnataka. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: A Kerala lawyer went to Karnataka. His body was found on the railway track. The Karnataka police could not make out a case and could not find who had done it. But when the CBI made an inquiry into the crime, it came to know that half-a-dozen policemen had murdered him in his hotel in Karnataka and thrown the body on the railway track. (*Interruptions*)

This is what is happening. What happened on the day of 'Bharat Bandh'? It was State Government sponsored Bandh in the Opposition-ruled States. Even the Ministers went on strike and they did not attend to their duty. But what happened? Hundreds of buses were burnt. Hundreds of thousands of loyal workers were beaten. It was the bounden duty of the State Government to give protection to the loyal workers to enable them to work. On the other hand, they were allowed to be beaten by the CPM workers, by the Janata workers and other workers. In different States they could not work. That is why I say that when I was hearing Mr. Samar Mukherjee, the vitriol he was pouring down on us, I was feeling a bit amused.

Now, I must tell you that as political parties we should not try to fomet trouble. Today what is happening in Punjab? Punjab is on fire for the last so many years. The Government is trying its level best to control the situation. There is a threat to the life of the Home Minister as well. But in spite of all that, our Government is trying to contain the situation by trying to control the terrorists, by trying to bring them to book, by trying to take them to task. But what is the Opposition doing? Has Mr. Chandrashekhar ever condemned these incidents? Has Mr. Bahuguna ever condemned (*Interruptions*) No, no, How many times? When did he condemn last? Can you tell me? People are dying every day. People are being done to death every day. How many times have your national leaders condemned it? Of course, Mr. Charan Singh did it. But what about other leaders? For cheap popularity, for getting some votes here and there, you are not condemning these terrorists, these secessionists, because in Punjab you want their votes. So many people are dying. As regards the Punjab situation, my hats off to the leftist parties! The CPI and CPM are trying to grapple with the situation and help the nation. As a matter of fact, there I appreciate them; I admire them. But there are certain other parties which simply want to encash on it politically instead of helping the Government to solve it to the satisfaction of the entire nation. So many times we find the Opposition parties criticising us, saying: you do not consult us . A number of times, on Punjab, I think the Opposition parties have been consulted. And suppose on any issue we do not consult you, then of course you can sit together and you can give us an alternative solution or a Resolution or a proposal that the Government should do this or that. But no concrete proposal has even been made. No concrete suggestion has ever been made, and there is no constructive approach. (*Interruption*)

In this connection, while viewing the role of the Opposition parties I am reminded of a couplet of Lord Macaulay. He has written—just four lines:

When none was for the party

All were for the State

The rich loved the poor

And the poor loved the great.

At times you have to rise above party considerations. If you want to serve national interest then naturally you have to rise above party considerations. If you are of the opinion that Punjab is really burning and this situation has to be contained, then somehow you must help the Governmet instead of condemning the Govment and criticising them only. I think that is the only role that can be played by the Opposition parties. You must come out with solid help, with a constructive programme. Though some of the parties are doing that, most of others are not doing this.

As regards the performance of the Home Ministry, in my considered opinion it has been fairly good. In the North-east we have almost been able to contain the situation. In my

[Shri P. N. Sukul]

considered opinion, it has been fairly good. We have almost been able to contain the situation in the North-East. What has been the situation in Assam, Nagaland and Mizoram? What was the incidence of insurgency in Minister?

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): A bomb was thrown yesterday.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: You can throw a bomb anywhere and then condemn the Government saying that the Government has not been able to control it. That is something different. Taking an overall view of the situation, our Governmnt has done an excellent job in Mizoram and Nagaland. (*Interruptions*). When I say 'fairly well' I say it with all the humility at my command, I do not call it 'excellent'. But it has the same sense and I have conveyed that to you all right. As regards the Home Ministry, it was indeed a very good thing that there was a bifurcation of the Ministry and the Personnel Department was separated from the Home Ministry. It is something good. On that very pattern, in the State also, they have separated the Home Department, the Appointment Department, the General Administration Department, etc. That is working very well. Today, the Person nel Department controls all the non-Police Officers including the I.A.S. The Home Ministry control the Police and the Para-military personnel. It is a very good distribution of work. I think it has added to the efficiency of the Government. Sir, as I said, our greatest problem in the North is Punjab. As regards Punjab we in this House as well as in the other House have already given to the Government the authority even to impose emergency. I think this is the final thing and the biggest weapon that has been given to the Government. The Government has not yet invoked it and there is no emergency in Punjab so far. In my humble opinion, if things continue like this and if innosent are being killed day in and out then this provision must be invoked it is an enabling provision there should be emergency in such situation.

While speaking on Punjab, I said in the last session that all the borders must be sealed completely and if necessary, the State of Punjab should be handed over to the Army. That is the final solution of the problem. There can be no compromise with the secessionist forces. There can be no compromise with the divisive forces. There can be no compromise with those forces which are the beck and call of other countries and which are trying to interfere with the integrity and solidarity of the country. I read in today's paper that barbed fencing is going to be erected all along the Indo-Pak border. It is a very good thing. I do not know what happened to the Indo-Bangladesh border. Has the fencing been erected there? Is it total or partial? I do not know. Of course, it is a very good thing. We must protect our borders and we must be able to deal with the infiltrators suitably. The border has to be sealed for that. Perhaps, fencing is being erected in the North between Kashmir and Pak occupied area. It is a very desirable thing and I am sure that the Government will try to have it completed as early as possible.

The borders have to be protected at all casts. Still, Sir, there are some pockets in our country where the trouble is brewing up. In the northern part of West Bengal, the GNLF activities are there. In Punjab. It is already there. There are some secessionist forces in Kashmir also though the Government there has been able to contain them so far. But they are there. In collusion with Pakistan, they have tried to raise their ugly heads sometimes. And all these secessionist forces, all these anti-nationol forces have to be dealt with suitably as I said earlier with an iron first. I congratulate the Government of

Rajiv Gandhi and Buta Singhji that they are trying not to bow down before the terrorists. They are not going to be cowed down by such activities. And they are making in determined effort in the larger interest of the nation to deal with the situation in Punjab. It is not an ordinary situation, Ram Awadhesh Singhji. Do not try to . . .

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : 204 धारा में सेक्युरिटी बैल्ट बनाने के लिये हाउस में प्रस्ताव पास किया गया है, बड़ी जद्दोजहद के बाद । यह सरकार ने लागू क्यों नहीं किया ? अगर यह किया गया होता तो आज यह नौबत न आती ।

श्री पशुपति नाथ सुकुल : आप समझे नहीं । मैंने थोड़ी देर पहले कहा था कि यह होना चाहिए ।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : यह क्यों नहीं किया गया । आप होम मिनिस्टर और प्राइम मिनिस्टर को कहिये, सेनक्शोर कीजिये (व्यवधान) . . .

श्री पशुपति नाथ सुकुल : हमारी पार्टी आपकी पार्टी की तरह इंडिसिप्लिन्ड पार्टी नहीं है ।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : आप हाउस में सेनक्शोर करें । जब आपकी सरकार को यह पावर दी गई थी तो उन्होंने उसका इस्तेमाल क्यों नहीं किया ।

श्री पशुपति नाथ सुकुल : देखिये, राम अवधेश सिंह जी, बात यह है कि पहली तारीख को जब आदमी तनख्वाह लेता है तो वह उसको पहली तारीख को ही खर्च नहीं कर देता है। वह रखता है जरूरत के मुताबिक ताकि उचित समय पर उसका उपयोग किया जा सके ।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : अब आप इमरजेंसी लगाना चाहते हैं । पहले हल्का मेजर लिया जा सकता था । हाउस ने जो अधिकार दिया था उसका इस्तेमाल नहीं किया । तलवार की जगह एटम बम चलाना चाहते हैं ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): I want to know whether the hon. Member is speaking from his seat. You are not speaking from your seat. That is not your seat.

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : (उत्तर प्रदेश): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, : क्या माननीय सदस्य से कहें कि वे अपनी सीट पर जायें ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): I have already told him.

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : ये खुद अपमान कर रहे हैं अपनी सीट का ।

ठाकुर जगतपाल सिंह: (मध्य प्रदेश) : ये जल्दी लीडर होना चाहते हैं इसलिये उस सीट पर बैठ गये हैं ।

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, as regards Punjab or other things, I have said that yesterday our Home Minister, while addressing our own people in Kamrajnagar told us, told the gathering about the misuse of the Rashtrapati Bhawan. (*Interruption*) It has come in the papers today.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Present day or earlier?

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: You are a very intelligent man, Swamiji. (*Interruptions*) Sir; this was something very serious whether the Rashtrapati Bhavan was being used for FERA violations or for smuggling or for anything. If it was being used as a haven for anti-national elements. It was a serious thing.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: That itself is a reflection no to the working of Home Ministry that it was not aware of these happenings. Then what action the Minister took?

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: He must have taken some steps which they do not want to reveal. I do not know...

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA (Andhra Pradesh): Just a minute, Sir. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this is a very serious thing which has been brought aut by Mr. Sukul, as allegally state by the Home Minister, If this is a fact, then, the House, the country has been taken for a ride. If this information was available with the Home Ministry at the time when the then President was making the President's House a haven for smugglers, FERA violators, anti-nationals, etc., then the country, the nation and this House nas been taken for a ride. I woulld like to ask the Member and also

3 P.M.

the Minister, who is present here, as to what was happening at that time, why appropriate action was not taken, why has it been delayed and why are they coming forward with this information now.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: If the Minister had not been very sure, very positive, about those things, he might not have mentioned them openly. If you want to know what was happening, I must tell you what we know that at least some opposition leaders were going in and coming out of the Rashtrapati Bhavan.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Do you treat them as foreigners that they cannot go into Rashtrapati Bhavan (*Interruptions*).

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: This is a very serious matter when he says that opposition leaders cannot go to the Rashtrapati Bhavan. Is there any law in the country that opposition leaders cannot go to the President's House?

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: But you know what the President have already told the press what you were doing. You were offering him Rs. 40 crores. You were offering him so many things. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: It is your own party people who were doing it. It is the senior Ministers in the Central Cabinet who were accused by him.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Members of the opposition have a right to go.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Sir, I am glad that my friend, Shri Sukul, has raised this issue. I also read it in the papers today. And Mr. Buta Singh has made certain remarks about Rashtrapati Bhavan, how President Zail Singh did so many wrong things. If Zail Singh had been the Rashtrapati when such an attack had been made, it would have called for impeachment of the President, nothing short of it. If the President and the Rashtrapati Bhavan, where they lived and given shelter to criminals, FERA violators, anti-social elements and other extremists, I think it would have signalled his removal. So, my point is that Mr. Buta Singh had been very irresponsible in making such a statement. But if he had been responsible, he would have held an inquiry and he should have come before the House. Even now, Sir, since he has made such an extreme statement, which involves the President and the Rashtrapati Bhavan, I think a commission of inquiry should be constituted to go into the matter. It is not a small matter. He should not have indulged in such outbursts and denunciation from a party platform. I think we cannot allow this to go without full and thorough eniquiry.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Sir, I endorse the demand of Mr. Gurupadaswamy.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Just a minute, Mr. Sukul, Sir, while supporting Mr. Gurupadaswamy I would like to say that the Home Minister must have been in the knowledge of the persons who are alleged to be smugglers, FERA violators etc. If he has made such a statement he must have made the statement with full resposibility, and if he knows the names of the persons why could he not take action agaist them and what action he is taking now? Therefore, I fully support the demand of Mr. Gurupadaswamy that the Home Minister must make a full statement because it involves the highest office in this country. Therefore while endorsing Mr. Sukul's point, let the whole truth be told, what action the Government took at that time and what action they are taking now. Are they prepared to prosecute Zail Singh if he is guilty of shielding such persons?

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Sir, I fully support the demand of Shri Gurupadaswamy and my friends for such an inquiry because the revelation has come from the Home Minister himself. All those who are supposed to have been involved in this nefarious game, must be exposed; they must be brought to book and punished. I entirely agree with them.

Before I conclude, I would like to say something about communalism. Communal situation in the coutry, by and large, is not bad; but in certain pockets and in certain areas, communal riots occur from time to time. Of course, a lot of exercise has been done on the subject. National Integration Council's recommendations are there; other recommendations are there. But in spite of all that, we are not in a position to contain it totally. These riots erupt here and there in Ayodhya, in Meerut, in Delhi and other places. We are a secular State and in a secular State if such communal eruptions and riots take place, it is a very sad reflection on all of us. What is the meaning of secularism? It does not mean anti-religion. Secularism means equal respect for all religions. It means that the people have the freedom of religion; but the Government has the freedom from religion. That is the meaning of secularism. People have the freedom of religion; but State has freedom from religion. Nothing will be done by the State on grounds of religion. Peaple have the right of working but the State is free from religion. And when both these freedoms are blended together, it makes an ideal secular State. So far as our Government is concerned. I mean the Congress Government, it is fully free from religion. All kinds of people are there; Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Jains, Sikhs. But the State does not interfere...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: That is why in the CC TV your full name has been given: Pushupati Nath Sukul. Nobody knew it.

SHII P. N. SUKUL: All our names are like that.

So, this communalism has to be contained. I spoke about the freedom of the people in the matter of religion. It is there. Then I spoke about the State being free from the religion. It is there. And still, I think, because of certain fundamentalist forces and because of certain parties in the Opposition who

[Shri P. N. Sukul]

make friends with these communalists, the situation is not being contained so well. It is the bounden duty of all of us, whether one is on this side or the other side of the House, to fight communalism. What is this fight for khalistan, for a separate State? It is on communal grounds. That is a bigger and a larger picture. But as I said, our Government is trying to contain it. But it is a matter which concerns the State Government. Our Government can at best give guidance; it can provide additional para-military staff, the CRPF, the BSF, and so on; but it is after all the State Government concerned which has to deal with law and order problem utimately. We can only help them, and suppose somewhere they do not want our help, then we are not going to force our help on them. It means, you cannot intrude into their field of activity, into their domain. But in spite of all these costraints, all of us have to unite to improve the situation. I think for quite sometime, for a year or more, no communal riots have taken place in the country. It means, the efforts of the Government are yielding their desired results and I earnestly hope that the Central Government and the State Governments will be quite alive to this problem. This is a very sensitive issue and very easily, within the shortest possible time, small incidents can lead to very volatile and explosive situations disturbing peace and amity among the various sections of the people. I hope this will be taken care of.

It is in deed very good Sir, that our Prime Minister is going round the country from State to State and meeting the District Magistrates and Collectors which some of our Opposition friends do not approve of. They say that he should not meet the District Magistrates. Why should he not do so? He is the Prime Minister of the country. He is the head of the Cetnral Government. By going round the country and meeting the Collectors and District Magistrates, he is trying to understand the local problems, their views on the subject and he is also trying to guide them. I am sure this exercise is going to prove very useful for the country and there will be definite improvement in the local administration.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Let him run the Central Government well before going to the District Magistrates and State Governments.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: It is a federal structure. If the States are allright ,the Centre will also be allright. This is the ultimate thesis.

Sir, there is no doubt, from time to time, we find cases of arson, cases of looting, cases of murders and cases of bad treatment of Harijans and other weaker sections of the society. Government should be fully alive to this problem. Sometimes in Bihar, sometimes somewhere else these incidents take place. Therefore, the Central Government should try to revail upon the States where such incidents take place frequently and must go to the rescue of the Harijans and other weaker sections of the society.

Now, the Sarkaria Commission report is there. *(Time bell rings)* I am finishing within two minutes. In regard to the Sarkaria Commission report, we have invited the comments from the State Governments. We have consulted the State Governments. Now, certain leaders from the Opposition are saying that the Government is purposely delaying this only because we have said the comments from the State Governments are not available and, therefore, we cannot take a final decision on the report. If we do not consult you, you criticise us. When we consult you, then also you criticise us for the delay in the

implementation of the report. Both ways, you criticise us. That is why I say that there should not be any anxiety on this score. As soon as the comments from the State Governments are available, I think our Government will accept and implement the report.

Then, Sir, there is one very small thing which I would like to suggest In Delhi, specially, and in other union Territories also, there are many colonies of Government employees. In almost all the colonies, there are welfare associations. These welfare associations are duly recognised and aided by the Central Government. But these associations have no place which they can call their office and hold their meetings there regularly. I suggest that the Government should be kind enough to provide these recognised and aided associations with some accommodation where they can have their office and hold their meetings. This will go a long way to ease the situation.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I was last in this House on 10th August, 1976, when there was an emergency. I hope, because I have come back there will not be another emergency. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): You say that it is your maiden speech. If you say that, there won't be interruptions. You take advantage of that.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: He likes interruptions.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Sir, the main problem that I have in addressing this House today is to make an assessment of what kind of Government we have today We can except action, we can expect good administration from a Government which is of competent and upright men and women, but by their own admission the things that are coming out makes me wonder what kind of Government we have today. Sir, it has already been referred to by the leader of my party, Mr. Gurupadaswamy, about what Mr. Buta Singh said and the headline is 'Zail Singh became a security risk' and it has been confirmed by Mr. Sukul that he heard it himself in that *tamasha*, called Kamrajnagar session. What he is quoted as saying is that Rashtrapati acme the most dangerous security risk for the nation. Now, we have here a President who has been the President till the other day, who is considered a dangerous risk for the country.. A little before that, we had a Defence Minister who was described by an hon. Member here as a CIA agent, namely, Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh, a member of the ruling party.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: He is.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: And it is now being confirmed by another ruling party member that the Defence Minister of India was a CIA agent. Then we have the Internal Security Minister being described as a corrupt, dishonest traitor by some of the ruling party members, namely Mr. Arun Nehru, who was, when he was the Internal Security Minister, more powerful than the Cabinet Minister. These are the three key posts in the Government, the President of India, the Defence Minister of India and the Internal Security Minister and they are being described as traitors, securtiy risk, thieves and so on Now I do not know with what kind of Government we are dealing because if at this rate we continue, then by the time we come to the next session, we might be hearing that Mr. Buta Singh is a terrorist, described by his own people, or Mr. Chidambaram is a lunatic or something like that. We do not know, how can I rule out that because here we have seen the august office of the President, the most important office of the Defence Minister and the Internal Security Minister, these people....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): Just a minute. No Member can be called 'lunatic' by any other member.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: No, no, I did not say that. That way, he is a very intelligent man. I did not call him 'lunatic'. I said, how I can rule it out.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: He said hypothetically that they might call him a lunatic.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): Calling hypothetically itself is calling a member. It is not fair.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I will go on record to say...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): What I say is, if you call a member hypothetically also, I will not allow that. That will not be fair for you or for any other member from any other bench. It is for the sake of decorum and it is again leftted because it has come from the to you.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: If a member can be called a CIA agent just now, that you have permit-ruling party circles. Supposing, they themselves tomorrow call him a tunatic, how can I rule it out? So, you must adopt some uniform standards in this matter. Anyway, you are the ultimate authority. So I accept what you say I am only concerned because in this country we have a well established procedure, when a person is to become a President or a Defence Minister or any Minister. We have a wellestablished procedure that indeed the starts antecedents are checked by the Intelligence Buerau and it is only after all these clearances are three that the person can be appointed. These things are kept discreetly confidential. But the fact is that this does happen. This means that when Giani Zail Singh became the president, there was a clearance, this means that when Mr. V. P. Singh became Defence Minister there was a clearance. And this means that when Mr. Arun Nehru also had this clearance. And it means that during their tenure, some change had taken place.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: Yes.

SHRI SUBRABMANIAN SWAMY. Therefore the question is why?

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: That is the ponit.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: That is right. Mr Kalpnath Rai was made the Minister and dropped. We would like to know for the same reason why?

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: It is the prerogative of the Prime Ministe to appoint anybdody as a Minister.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Don't worry, your Government will not be toppled in Jammu and Kashmir. You don't have to prove your loyalty over and over again.

...(व्यवधान)...हम तो चले ही नहीं गये भाई, हम तो वहीं थे पहले से। आपके पेट में दर्द हो रहा है कि जनता पार्टी सबसे बड़ी पार्टी बन गई है।

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय (उत्तर प्रदेश): कितने दल इन्होंने बदले हैं आज तक? माननीय अध्यक्ष जी, माननीय सदस्य ने आज तक कितने दल बदले हैं, यह सदन जानना चाहता है। उसके बाद इनकी स्पीच सुनना चाहता है।

श्री सुब्रहमण्यम स्वामी: आपकी पार्टी में कभी नहीं आये हैं। यह यहां पर नोट करिये।

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय: आपको हमारी पार्टी स्वीकार ही नहीं करेगी।... (व्यवधान)...

श्री सुब्रहमण्यम स्वामी: क्यों डरते हैं आप? कोई मसाला मैं निकालने वाला हूं, जिससे कि आपकी कोई पोल खुलने वाली है क्या?

Anyway, all this cannot be included in my time. This may plase be deducted.

The law and order...

AN HON MEMBER: This is his speech.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: In your Government there is no respect for maidens. We know what the situation of maidens is in this country today.

The law and order in the country is inshambles today. That everybody can see by reading the papers. What is happning in the capital city? Yesterday in Sarojini Nagar a family was watching the serial Ramayana when some people came dressed as policemen and got away with it. Nobody has been caught so far. This is happening all along, so that a sense of insecurity prevails in the country today. Who is responsible for it, I would like to know. Law and order can be maintained only if there is awe and respect for the rules and for rulers who should inspire the people by their exemplary conduct. But today we do not have that. That is why law and odrer is breaking down today. What are you inspiring today? You are inspiring only contempt for law; you are inspiring contempt for the Constitution. That is why law and order is breaking down. Otherwise law and order can be brought under check very quickly. I would like to say that ever since this Government came to power in the end or October, 1984, it has only seen the blood of innocent people flow in one incident after another. The culprites in high places have been protect ed and those who have sought justice or sought to expose this have been harassed. That is what the situation is today.

No sooner the Prime Minister took oath of office, five thusand innoecnt Sikhs we butchered in an organi sed way in Delhi. Even the Commission appointed by this Government, the Ranganath Mishra Commission, which we know in what circumstances it worked says that there was an organised attempt and some members of the ruling party were involved. But even today they have not caught a single person. How can you inspire the people for long? Not a single person has been apprehended, because they are in high places. I would like to know why. How can you curb Sikh terrorism with honesty, with determination, if you do not curb terrorism of another kind? The terrorism that took place in Delhi was inspired. Who inspired it, you know it, I know it.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: You tell us.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I am prepared to tell any time you appoint a committee. There have been committees of the PUCL. There have been committees like the PUCL, PUDR, and the Sikri Committee. There are whole committees which have named the people. If you go to these places, the people will tell you. Everybody knows who they are. They should have been brought to book. You cannot have moral authority in Punjab unless you bring to book those terrorists in Delhi who killed or maimed 5,000 innocent people. I would say that this act which brought shame to India all over the world is an act of genocide because, obviously, if you are not going to take action against the culprits, whom you know they are, then indeed it is State-sponsored.

You talk about Punjab today and say that Pakistan is involved. May be Pakistan is involved. How do I know?

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: It is not correct? ... (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: But I say, you are incompetent that you cannot stop a small country like Pakistan from interfering in your country. If Pakistan is interfering

[Shri Subramanian Swamy]

take action. It is your responsibility to take action. But you are just using it as a propaganda. There is no proof. I will support you if you take action, if you convince me that it is, in fact, so. It does not take very much to convince. There are enough photos. You have got satellites going around, you have enough spies, you can find out. Take us into confidence, we will support you. Take concrete action. A big country like India complaining all over the world about Pakistan, brings shame to India. A big country like India should be able to tell Pakistan, "Mind your business, otherwise we will teach you a lesson". But you are not able to do it. You are just using it for getting votes. I think—because you are not serious. You are only giving speeches.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Pakistan... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: What did you say?... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY (Andhra Pradesh): This is terrible. Don't talk about hysteria without listening first. Sir, I beg your protection... (*Interruptions*)... You cannot have a Member referring to other Members like this as Pakistan supporters or terrorists. It is a shame. How can anyone make a statement like this and get away with it? It brings shame to the entire House and I am ashamed to be associated with colleagues like this.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Mrs. Chowdhury, what happened when I was speaking?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: In fact, they are supporters of Pakistan, because they are allowing Pakistan to intervene in our country. They said that Pakistan is intervening. You did a running commentary or something like that. You should be able to stop it. If you cannot stop it, then you are incompetent. Then resign and get out and allow somebody else to put a stop to it... (*Interruptions*) ....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): No. No running commentary. please... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: So, Sir, the question is that the blood of innocents was spilled but this Government did nothing. Then how can you inspire awe for law?

The same thing happened in Meerut. On the 22nd of May, PAC trucks went to an area of Meerut—Hashimpura—picked 41 young boys, selected them by religion and asked all those who belonged to a particular religion to go back to their homes. Then another particular religious group was asked to board the trucks, they were taken 20 kilometres away and they were shot one by one and their bodies were thrown into the canal. This was an act of genocide. Who was present in Meerut at that time, on that fateful night? The Chief Minister was present there in Meerut, and so was Mr. Chidambaram present.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Before you make that statement, check your statement. Don't make a statement irresponsibly.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Were you not in Meerut?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Tell me the date. Make a statement after giving the date.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Between 19th and 22nd of May you were in Meerut.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Sir, let him be very careful before he makes a statement of that nature.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I am saying that between 19th of May and 22nd of May, you were in Meerut.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: You just now tell me the date when it happened. Please be careful: I am still being restrained. Make a statement after ... (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You were present in Meerut between 19th of May and 22nd of May. Let him deny it.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Go ahead and complete that statement now.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Were you or were you not present?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Complete that statement now.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I am saying you were present.

SHRI P. CHIDAMABARAM: You complete that statement now.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Complete what?

SHRI P. CHIDAMABARAM: You go and complete that statement; you said something earlier. Now you are swallowing your words. Make that statement now.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: My statement is complete... (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is an unseemly manner in which the Minister is belabouring and threatening the hon. Member.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I am not threatening. He is making an irresponsible statement, he made an irresponsible statement. He swallowed it, he qualified his words. Let him make the statement which he originally made.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): One minute. The hon. Minister wants to know the date on which he was there ... (*Interruption*) ...

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: He has mentioned the date.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): He is giving a broad date. The hon. Minister wants to know the exact date. He is now qualifying the statement. He cannot not give a broad date of about 20 days. He wants to know the exact date.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: The Minister is perfectly free to ask the hon. Members for whatever clarification he wants just as the hon. Member is free to ask the Minister for whatever clarification he wants. But, I think, in the process if the Minister were to boil and to threaten the hon. Member ...

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: It is a wrong statement.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): The point is, what date? Among the number of dates, the hon. Minister wanted to know the exact date.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: He has said that ... (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Mr. Swamy said this. You can go through the record. He said, "Who was present on that date when the truck went in and picked up 41 persons?" He said. "The Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh". He paused. (*Interruptions*). Just a minute. Mr. Jaswant Singh. Kindly listen to me. Don't try to distract the attention now.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): Please allow the Minister to speak.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: He made a specific statement. I will be very happy if he will repeat the statement. He mentioned a date. (*Interruptions*) Just a minute, Mr. Jaswant Singh. You are teaching us decorum. When I am speaking, he is sitting and talking about decorum. I have got the permission to speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): Mr. Jaswant Singh, you should not make a running commentary when one is speaking.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Please go through the record. The record will show, if I remember right, and the hon. Members have heard it, he said. "It is the date on which a truck went and picked up 41 persons." Then he said, "Who was present on that date in Meerut? The Chief Minister of U.P." He paused and said, "Mr. Chidambaram". If he will make that statement again affirming that that is the date on which I was present when a truck went in and took 41 people, then, I respect his courage to make the statement on the floor of this House. Let him make that statement.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: May I make a submission, Sir? I think, Mr. Chidambaram is a little off the track. Just a minute. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: You are a responsible man.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: May I go on, May I have your permission to go on?

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: Yes.

SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG (Gujarat): This is also a wrong statement. The Minister has clarified it.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I will clarify. Let him make his statement.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Mr. Chidambaram, as I understand, wanted the date and also, if I have understood him correctly he wanted to know whether the date has anything to do with the event (*Interruptions*) Just a minute. You had your say. Let me have my say.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): One minute. The point is, the hon. Minister is making his submission. There can be interference between an hon. Member and the Minister. There cannot be another member...

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I thought, you allowed me to say that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): There is no question of my allowing.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: You have allowed. Let me complete.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): If there is a pertinent question, you can ask.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Let me just complete. I will not take much of your time.

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEPTULLA: This is happening since this morning when one Member made amendments to oath. Instead of his apologising, Mr. Gurupadaswamy tried to volunteer. This is the second time.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: What are you doing now?

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEPTULLA: What is this volunteering service going on?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Why are you talking on behalf of Mr. Chidambaram?

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEPTULLA: I am not answering for him.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: My friend has given the date already. That was the thing wanted by the Minister. I do not know what objection he should take on this. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH (Maharashtra): I have an important point to make.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Under what rule?

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEPTULLA: Under point of order.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: If he thought of point of disorder and then order...

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: An order is generally an order. I know since he left the Army, he believes in disorder, but I believe in order. (*Interruptions*) I am deeply touched at this expression of opposition unity which I witness here today.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): What is your point of order?

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: I am just coming to it. I am greatly touched by the fact that Madam Chowdhury gets up and supports what Dr. Swamy has to say and then hon. Jaswant Singh Ji gets up in support...

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: May I rise on a point of order?

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: One minute. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Since he took my name, I am on a point or order. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: Though this expression of opposition unity is really touching, I rise on the element of sorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): What is your point of order?

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: I am coming to it.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Save your crocodile tears.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: I am just coming to it. It is a short preamble to a long...It was not only my expectation, but the expectation of the entire House that with the entry of Dr. Subramanian Swamy, an illustrious name, we would have the standard of the debate rising in this House, that we would have something to contribute. I find that. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): What is your point of order?

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: It is just coming.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): Dr. Subramanian Swamy, you speak. There is no point of order.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: Thank you, Sir.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I am sorry to disappoint the Congress benches, but the country is in such a sorry state that I have to express the voice of the people here. I think it is not a question of my courage, but the fact is that 41 youngsters were taken and shot in cold blood, about which I will give some evidence for the Government. What I wanted to say was that between the dates of 19th May and 22nd May, Mr. Chidambaram was in Meerut. Let him deny that he was not there on any of those days.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: That is not what Dr. Swamy said earlier. Please have the record read to the House. He gave a specific date i.e. 22nd, when the truck went and picked up 41 people. He charged

[Shri P. Chidambaran]

me with having been present along with the Chief Minister of U.P. Is he standing by that statement or not? If you are making the charge, make it Dr. Swamy. I will answer you. If you are not making the charge, withdraw it gracefully. You can do only one of the two things. Either you make a charge or withdraw it.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Were you or were you not present between 19th and 22nd of May?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Let him make a charge, I will answer. I am here, let him make a charge and I will answer. Why are you running away? "Twentysecond night", you said, "when the truck went and took up people", you rhetorically asked the question, "Who was present?" You answered it by saying: "The Chief Minister of U.P." You paused and said: "and Mr. Chidambaram". Make that charge again.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA (Nominated): I want to submit one thing, Sir. The statement which has been made by the hon. speaker, is a statement which concerns not only Mr. Chidambaram, but the entire House. It is the privilege of this hon. House to call upon the speaker to say again before this hon. House whether he sticks to the statement or he does not stick to the statement (*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER: Go through the record.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: If this statement is false, it is a breach of privilege of the responsible House. I respectfully submit that he owes to the hon. House either to repeat the statement or to withdraw the statement because I shall move for breach of privilege. I am entitled to move a breach of privilege against him if his statement is false.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): The point involved is, on the date of that incident the Chief Minister and Mr. Chidambaram were there or not.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: That is the point. Either he should repeat the charge or withdraw it. (*Interruptions*) I am entitled to move a breach of privilege against him.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): You told about the Chief Minister also. Are you going to stick to that point? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: This is all filibustering and prevarication. You do not want the truth to come out and truth is terrible. You commit genocide and you want to hide it. You have killed 41 people. That is the truth.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I want the truth to come out.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I am trying for that.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Mr Swamy, I want the truth to come out. Please read the record. Let the record be read now. Please read the first portion. He has made a very serious charge... (*Interruptions*) ... Please read the record.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Will the hon. Member stand by what he has said earlier?... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Sir, I have got great respect for my colleague. In his first appearance he is making a maiden speech. Here my point of order is, he is making a specific charge. Here nobody is filibustering. We are not at all filibustering. We are interested to sit and hear the learned lecture and views of the hon. Member but he should not say that he will give you the date tomorrow in your

chamber. By saying this he is weakening his case. He is a young bright and intellectual person... *(Interruptions)*...It all depends on your eyes. I look to him as a bright person. You may look at him as a dark person. I don't mind. What I wanted to say to Mr. Subramaniam Swamy is that this is not Ramlila ground. This is Rajya Sabha. We must make ... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Sir, Ramlila ground has Ravans and Ramas and I do not know whether that would be quite accurate. I tell you the fact of the matter is...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): This controversy is going on for the last 30 minutes. You have lost almost 30 minutes. Please conclude now.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I wanted to say... *(Interruptions)*... I know what I tell.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: You withdraw that remark.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I am not angry with Mr. Swamy for making a charge. I am willing to listen to him. I am willing to debate him on that. But before that I think in all fairness we should read that portion of the record when he gave a date and made a charge.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): He says that he will give the date tomorrow in my chamber.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: What is all this? Is he making a mockery of parliamentary procedure?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: When the Minister is challenging him he should not withdraw.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I am not angry with Mr. Swamy. I am not upset. I want him to read the record.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Sir, I have never seen a cowardly person like Mr. Swamy.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): The Member has got a right to make charges and the Minister has got a right to reply to them.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: They do not want to understand what the charge is.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): Regarding date, he says he will give it tomorrow.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Sir, I will give him the date.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Sir, irrelevant things are not permitted.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: What I said was on the night of 22nd May, PAC trucks went to the Hashimpura area of Meerut. There they got all the residents out and selected members of one particular community and asked them to go back to their residents and of the remaining, they selected 41 young people, made them board the trucks and took them 20 KM away to Moradnagar where there is a canal flowing called Ganganehar and threw one by one at 9 P M These youngesters were shot and their bodies were thrown into the river. Now, I said: Who was present in Meerut on that day?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Read the record on that.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: And in that juxtaposition, he has misunderstood what I said. This is what I wanted to say ... *(Interruption)*...

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Let him say the whole thing... (*Interruption*)...

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Don't say something which is blatantly false... (*Interruptions*)...

He has not said that. He is qualifying it now. That is not what he said. (*Interruption*). On that day, who was present, the Chief Minister of U.P. Will you say that again Mr. Swamy? (*Interruption*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): Mr. Swamy, please proceed to next point.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Sir, whether Mr. Chidambaram was present on 21st, 20th or 19th, the fact is that he was present in Meerut with the Chief Minister present there also... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: No, Sir. I insist and I beg of you, please read the record what was said. He is qualifying.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I beg the Minister to state whether he was in Meerut between 19th of May and 22nd of May or not.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I will answer after he picks up courage and repeats the statement he originally made... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: I do not believe that this is a point for picking up courage... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: These things do not touch you at all ... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: They are trying to hide the seriousness of the crime committed. They are trying to use all these diversionary tactics. These are diversionary tactics. How is it material whether you are present on the 22nd ..

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEPTULLA: Sir, I am on a point of order.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You have not spoken a word about it.

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEPTULLA: I am addressing the Chair Don't talk to me. Sir, I belong to the minority community. I am a Member of the ruling party. One Member from the Opposition, Mr. Subramanian Swamy made a statement and he said that the Minister was present on the 22nd when he alleged 41 people were picked up and killed. By making such an allegation, it might create an inflammatory situation and tomorrow the community people might have a right again to say that in the presence of the Minister, such a thing hapened. It can create a very serious situation.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: The Minister was present.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I accept the challenge. Now after Mrs. Heptulla has mentioned it, he has repeated that on the 22nd, I was present when the incident took place ... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I did not say that ... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I accept the challenge.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Sir, this incident is the worst incident in the history of India at least since 1947. 41 young people were taken deliberately. Under whose orders? We will have to find out. But they were deliberately taken. This is not a case of police firing on the mob and using excessive force. This is a cold-blooded decision that the truck will go; they will bring out people; they will select out young men, take them over 20 kms away and shoot

them in cold blood one by one. In the beginning, when I raised this subject with the Government, they said, "this incident has never taken place. It is a lie. "Subsequently, unfortunately for the Government, the facts are piling up and some of us did put pressure, some of us went on satyagraha. I went on fast unto death and ultimately, the Home Minister wrote me a letter while I was in the Boat Club. He said, "Please refer to your letter of... I had orally assured you when we met in the Central Hall of Parliament that we are equally keen to enquire into the matter." Then he goes on. This is a letter of August 6, 1987, in which he says, "I have talked to the Chief Minister, of Uttar Pradesh this morning." He told me and issued a press statement after talking to Shri Gyan Prakash under whose chairmanship a committee had been appointed. Accordingly Shri Gyan Prakash had been asked by the Chief Minister of UP to submit to him an interim report and based on the interim report further investigations would be taken up by the Government expeditiously. The Chief Minister of UP assured prompt action on this issue So this was the letter that the Chief Minister gave me in writing. Then the Gyan Prakash Committee gave its interim report. It is a long thing; I won't read everything. He said—

> "It has been further said that the PAC had taken over 40 persons in a truck to Muradnagar where they were shot and thrown into the canal. Some witnesses who appeared before us claimed that they were lucky to survive and escape. Some witnesses who appeared before us had broken arms and fractured legs and several others were reported missing. The use of force appears to be excessive. It has shaken the confidence of the minority community in the administrative machinery. It is a very serious matter that requires detailed investigation. The Committee does not have adequate machinery or time to investigate into these allegations fully. Under the circumstances we can only suggest that the Government may like to have this inquired into by some agency in its disposal."

This is what the Gyan Prakash Committee said. This is what the Home Minister said, that this was what the Gyan Prakash Committee found and we would take expeditious action. But have they taken any action? No; they have taken absolutely no action. Today those families of the 41 youngesers are suffering, are crying. What have you to say to them? How can you inspire confidence in them? How can you inspire them to have respect for law and order when you did not show any respect for the law in a matter which brought us shame all over the world? This is genocide. Can you deny that this is genocide? Who is behind this? What transpired between Mr. Chidambaram and the UP Chief Minister between the 19th and 21st of May?

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: Who is behind it?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I would like to know that. I want to know it from the Home Minister.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: Who is behind it?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You should know; you should try to find out. You appoint a committee and I will tell you. In 1984 riots 5000 innocent Sikhs were murdered; not one person has been caught. And now here is the case of Meerut when 41 young boys were taken away and shot in cold blood again not one person has been caught till today. The irony of it is some families were given some compensation by checque and those UP Government cheques were bounced by the State Bank of India saying that the UP Government had no money in the bank. This is the extent of cynicism of this Government. With this blood on your hand still, how do you expect to inspire confidence? All the perfumes of Italy will not be able to wipe out the stains of blood on your hand...

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEPTULLA: Are you using them?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: That only you can tell me...

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: Janata Party is using French perfumes.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Of course Kalpnath Rai does not use perfumes at all. I can say that 10 feet from him.

Therefore, I only say that if you want to establish law and order, if you want to curb terrorism, you cannot do it by terrorism of your own, you cannot conduct State terrorism and expect that terrorism of people should not take place. This is where you have to look at yourself. Have you been able to convince people that you will catch those who are indulging in those acts? No; you have not been able to convince people because you are not giving them protection. Anybody who exposes gets into trouble. Take the UNI correspondent in Amritsar, Kuldip Arora. They are tom-tomming that they gave a chargesheet. What does the chargesheet contain? It contains only two points: "You met in room No. 14 in Nanak Nivas and you spoke to so and so where you urged him to give a call for Khalistan." That is charge (1). He has met secretly in room No. 14 in Nanak Nivas...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): Is it a *sub judice* matter?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: When you are under NSA, there is no trial going on. You must know the laws of the land.

Charge No. (2) is "You promised to write inflamatory articles to so and so in a secret meeting in room No. 34 in Nanak Nivas." These are the two charges against him and they put the reporter in jail under NSA. With this sort of threat do you expect to inspire confidence? He needs some protection. They are talking about Chandra Swami. I do not know. I am not going to defend him.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: But the Opposition parties are doing.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: But human rights or fundamental rights are rights for everybody. Now, what is Chandra Swami's problem? He has got one tape and one photograph about both of which they are nervous. One photograph is about a funeral that took place in Italy and there in that a Bofors' official was present in that photograph talking to a relative of a very important person of this country. That is photograph No 1. Then there is the tape. The tape shows conversations. So, they have got him. And, on what? On the ground of some fellow in England having given him a cheque behind a restaurant in New York five years ago! This is ridiculous. I am not speaking about his other activities... (*Interruptions*)...

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : चन्द्रास्वामी राष्ट्रद्रोही हैं ।

श्री सुब्रह्मण्यम स्वामी : हो सकता है । आपके लिये तो सब राष्ट्रद्रोही हैं । जो आप के साथ नहीं हैं वे राष्ट्रद्रोही हैं । राष्ट्रद्रोही की परिभाषा हम जानते हैं । कल्पनाथ राय जी आप से सर्टिफिकेट मिल जाये तो हमें पता नहीं कि आदमी... (**व्यवधान**) की कीमत क्या होगी ।

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : आप चन्द्रास्वामी को अपनी पार्टी में भर्ती कर सकते हैं ।

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMI: Therefore, with regard to Chandra Swami, I am not talking about his other activities. But what I am saying is this. How can you go after a person like this? And for what? Because he has got the photographs and the tape.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: Have you seen it?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I would like to see it. But it is in the custody of the Income-tax Department. They have got it, because I have seen the documents and the list of things that they have taken.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): Is it an imaginative photograph, a manipulated one?... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMI: I would like you to get that photograph and show it to all of us... (*Interruptions*)... Your behaviour with Chandra Swami contrasts with your behaviour with Win Chadha. He has been described as a proclaimed offender in the Court. But when he arrives here he is treated as a son-in-low. ...(*Intrerruptions*) ...

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, चन्द्रास्वामी विरोधी दलों की मीटिंग्स में परमानेन्ट जाते हैं और वहां पर देवीलाल जैसे लोग उनको बरगलाते हैं। आप क्या बात करते हैं।

श्री सुब्रह्मण्यम स्वामी : देवीलाल का मीटिंग में जाना कोई अपराध नहीं है यह समझ लें।

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: You pick up such things and present them in the House and in the Press and misguide the people. This is an other strategy.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Sir, this attitude...

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: Mr. Subramanian Swamy is a master in that.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: This attitude towards Mr. Kuldip Arora, this attitude towards Chandra Swami, contrasts with your attitude towards Win Chadha who is described in the Court as a proclaimed and also a habitual offender who has run away from the country. When he comes back, he is received well and he is told, "You can go anywhere you like." and he is allowed to operate bank acounts and he is looked after very well as if he is your son-in-law, as if your last son-in-law has come. I would like to know why he has not been arrested and why his passport has not been impounded. Why have you not done this? It is because Win Chadha is willing to collaborate with you?... (*Interruptions*).... And you are harassing Kuldip Arora... (*Interruptions*)...

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। इन्होंने कहा है कि विन चड्डा को जो सन इन ला की तरह इन लोगों ने... (**व्यवधान**)... सो आफ किया है। विन चड्डा विरोधी दलों का सन इन ला है वह हमारा नहीं है।

श्री सुब्रह्मण्यम स्वामी: आपका सन इनला नहीं है तो उसका पासपोर्ट कैंसिल कर दीजिये (*Interruptions*)... you have declared him a proclaimed offender and a habitual offender. Anyway....

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: Sir, this is very important. I want to set the record straight. Let me inform him that Mr. Win Chadha's passport was impounded *in absentia* and orders were issued. Mr. Win Chadha has travelled to India on a special document which was issued to him and his passport is null and void. Even after his entry into India he does not have the passport and he cannot go away from the country. He was a proclaimed offender so long as he was away from this country. He has come back and he has testified and, therefore, he is no longer a proclaimed offender.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Sir, the Congress (I) Members are being kept in the dark.... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: No... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I said that the Congres (I) Member are being kept in the dark... (*Interruptions*)... I think you are in the dark or you are trying to defend him... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: I do not have blinkers on my eyes as you have... (*Interruptions*)... I do not have blinkers on my eyes.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Well, Sir, blinkers are somewhere else.

[Shri Subramanian Swamy]

So, the fact of the matter is that 4.00 P.M. Mr. Win Chadha is being given an assurance in writing that he can leave the country any time he wants.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: No. No. No asurance has been given. I protest against it. These are figments of the imagination of Dr. Subramanian Swamy.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): The Minister is here. We will reply to it.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: I am also entitled to speak. It is not only the Minister who should speak. Let me tell you that he is really going too far in making big allegations.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I would like to know since when the Members of Parliament have become the repositories of what action has been taken by the Government. Secondly, what is the basis on which he can say that a particular statement made by him is wrong when he is making a categorical statement? If there is something wrong with it, the Minister can reply to it.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: He is making an uncategorical statement as a categorical statement.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: It is an open threat.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: Yes, I threaten him openly. Ask him to take action aaginst me.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You look like a steamroller.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): Your time is up.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I am very sorry, Sir. This is a serious discussion which is going on. I will request Mr. Subramanian Swamy to put that glass down. He has put it on the table. It is a wrong thing.

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEPTULLA: He has come after a long time. He has forgotten.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You will take much longer time to come back. The fact of the matter is that this Government has failed. There has been large scale genocide in all parts of the country.

SHRI ASHIS SEN (West Bengal): Sir, we also have a privilege to hear what the Members have got to say. Every moment and every second the ruling party Members interrupt him. We have also got a privilege. There are three or four persons here. They are hon. Membrs of Parliament. They should have the courtesy of giving an opportunity to the opposition Members to speak what they have got to say.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: Nobody has the right to abuse.

SHRI ASHIS SEN: Kindly rule them out.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): What I find is that the hon. Members enjoys interruptions so that he can go on for 40 or 45 minutes. Please don't interrupt him so that he finishes soon.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Sir, you have understood the point correctly. Some hon. Members talked of the elections. You have been seeing that in the bye-elections to the State Assemblies they have been losing. The only place where you won by playing tactics is in Tripura. Now, we are not going to allow you to win this time. Now we know your methods. *(Interruptions)* With this kind of record of genocide unprecedented in forty years, I am surprised that this Government is unable to maintain law and order in Punjab in Darjeeling or anywhere else. And now a new area has come for them which is of concern, and that is Tamil Nadu. They had to be protected against Tamilians this time while they held the AICC session near Madras. They had to round up a whole lot of people so that

they can be safe. There is no part of India in which they can be safe. So, I would tell you: Read the writing on the wall. Please resign and get out before you are thrown out. This is what I want to tell you.

..[**The Vice-Chairman (Shri Jagdish Desai)** in the Chair.]

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Shri A. G. Kulkarni.

. SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I was really enjoying the speech of my previous colleague, Dr. Subramanian Swamy. And I find that it is an effort like that of King Canute in a story pushing the waves back into a river or a sea. I think, the main thrust of his speech was that genocide has been unleashed by the Government and that innocent people have been killed. Sir, with due respect to him, I will go to my substantive point because his point will be replied to by my hon. colleague. Mr. Chidambaram because he knows the facts and he will reply.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, while participating in the debate on the Home Ministry, I am really very much hurt and particularly so much frustrated that what the founding fathers of the Constitution had put down, the complete integrity of the State, the secular character of this country, should be threatened. Judiciary, executive, legislature and the press are the four pillars on which this country should stand. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am very sorry to say that at present the entire effort—here I do not blame the Opposition; for heaven's sake do not misunderstand me; I blame myself—is that disruptive forces are being created and being encouraged by various political elements in this country threatening the integrity and the secular character of this country. And I do feel that disintegration of the country may not be far off if we in the polity misbehave or behave irresponsibly and encourage such forces which will destablise the fabric of this country. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I find that the disruptive forces are encouraged not only in Dehli or Madras or Bombay or Calcutta or for that matter in Hyderabad but it is there in small villages also. The disruptive forces are playing havoc with the secular character, and they are threatening the very secular character of this country.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, what I find is that my friend referred to Punjab and Assam. I am not aware in what political party he was when the Punjab accord was signed because nowadays alignments, realignments and re-realignments take place every one hour or two hours or every fifteen days. But, Sir, when the Punjab accord was achieved, I know that every political party appreciated the efforts of the Prime Minister because up to that stage the entire atmosphere was of love and hate. And it was the Prime Minister who struck an accord on Punjab along with Sant Longowal. There might be certain weaknesses while the accord was signed. Much water has flown under the bridges since the Punjab accord was signed. Now, we see the Constitution Fifty-ninth Amendment. Whether one likes it or not, it is there. But I am exactly not interpreting what some political parties say. But now the political parties have come to say that the Punjab disturbances should be crushed. That is the thrust of the various political parties' suggestions to the Government. Now, when before the Fifty-ninth Amendment, a Bill or amendment was passed in this very House about creating a five mile corridor along the border many political parties sided with the ruling party and they thought that there is some reasonableness and pragmatism in it. Now, what I find in Punjab is that the conditions have further deteriorated. I would request the government, Mr. Vice-Chairman, because it is a little personal matter, because my daughter in Pune during the last eight days has received three threatening letters from the Khalistan liberation army. So, I was very uncertain whether I should participate in this discussion on the Home Ministry. But, at the last moment, I decided that I should make myself bold, and what happens to my family is a small matter.

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni]

I wrote and sent a telegram to the Home Minister but unfortunately nothing much has been done. I would only request you, Sir, that when I make some suggestions on Punjab, they are not exactly against terrorists or anybody but I am more concerned with the integration of this country, I am more concerned with these boys, who have taken to terrorism. Why? Because, it seems, they are receiving not justice. They might be right, I do not know. Sir, recently I discussed this matter in Pune with the oldest of the freedom fighters in this country by whose hands was drafted the August 1942 resolution of Kranti Maidan. He was participant in that resolution. I asked him, do you believe in these things that are going on and at the very moment the results in the Aurangabad corporation were out. He said, Appasaheb, this is the defeat of the very high principles that Gandhi and Nehru propounded about the secular character of this country. And they threatened disintegration for one reason or the other. I would like to draw the attention of the Home Minister, leave aside these bickerings and this provocative talk, I do not give much credence to it, but we all believe, we all hon. Members in this House, that the time has come when the entire political system has come into disrepute. For what reason, I am not going to elaborate. Everybody knows and every political part yhas a hand in this disintegration of the society and the credibility of the political system.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, about Assam it is the same. I, woudl only request the Government, whether in Punjab or whether in Assam, that whatever accords have been signed, there should be a faithful effort to implement them. Whatever wrong is there or whatever right is there, should be discussed with the parties concerned and a solution found out because democracy stands on discussion. It stands on finding a solution by discussion and not by a bullet. No solution can be found by bullet whether AK-47 or any other whatsoever. I would request my friends from Punjab that the actions of these terrorists, who have been supplied the latest ammunition from Pakistan, because the Home Minister is on record to have stated and the Prime Minister has stated that they have got proof that these are supplied by Pakistan, and these armaments belong to China, America, etc. So, I feel, more serious aspect is that country's integrity is threatened. Don't play with fire. I would request all political parties. Don't encourage young boys to take law into their own hands and settle the problem through a bullet. Whatever Mr. Subramanian Swamy has stated, or whatever there has been a long-standing demand, disturbances have been takng place and I would only reuest the Government that they should evolve a machinery to settle these things and whoever is found guilty, should be punished. The machinery has been created but it is not evoking a credibility for itself. It has to do something which should establish its credibility to solve the problems of Sikhs.

Now about the detenus. You have released some 40 detenus. You start this process further. But don't make *ad hoc* decisions. I only hope that the Government will take proper care of the very serious threatening attitude of the disruptive forces which are out to break this country because respected leaders from Pune; an elderly statesman whom we respect, said that this country is on the point of disintegration. I was very sorry to hear it. I would request my friends here to realise that it is not a running fight between the Opposition parties and the ruling party. Why should we have a running fight? Our aim is to see that this country is developed economically, that this country achieves the commanding heights in the world where our words should have credibility and should be valued.

The other point which I want to speak about it—and that is the reason I came here to speak on the working of the Home Ministry — is regarding the role of certain chauvinistic forces. I do not blame one organisation here or there, whether in Bombay or in Punjab or another organisation in the eastern sector,

or some organisation in Kerala. There are many organisations. But the thrust of their existence and their politics is their creating a mafia, whether in Bombay or in Madras or Calcutta or for that reason in Sangli. Such type of mafia is being created and developed. It has gone into the blood of the youth. Now, what is the reason behind it It is because they have got no employment. What do they do? They don't have any employment, and it is not possible to create employment for them because in this country when about 65 per cent of the people are still dependent on agriculture we cannot expect that there could be economic growth and people will get jobs so quickly. Public sector cannot provide employment for every Tom, Dick and Harry, There is a limitation which we must accept. These knowledgeable persons in the political parties must know that unless there is economic development, employment opportunities cannot be created. Our Prime Minister rightly stated in Madras that while there has been a massive investment of Rs. 60,000 crores, in the public sector, they must give some money back to the Government so that it can be reinvested to create employment So, there is this motivation and inspiration for these chauvinistic forces coming from the situaton of unemployment. Some of their leaders are called 'Senapati'. Somebody is called a commander. Somebody calls himself a general. Many organisations are there. Whether they are senapatis, whether they are tigers or paper tigers. God knows; because a single threat by the Chief Minister that the case has been referred to the police and the senapati sits down quietly. The question is what do these youngsters thrive on? They thrive on *matkas* and on liquor dens This is going on with the connivance of the police. I make bold to say that there is a connivance between the police and these youngsters and that is why they behave the way they do. These chauvinistic forces are thriving because of the connivance by the police with these people. I would request the Government as well as the friends from the various political parties to diagnose malaise. You know what happened in Aurangabad. May political parties were in the fray. The Janata and the BJP could not secure a single seat out of the 60 seats. Not a single seat. Out of the 27 seats got by one orgainsation, youngsters in the age-group of 18 to 24 accounted for 12 to 15 seats. This is the position.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: If you provoke Hindu communalism the way you are doing around the country, the benefits will not be reaped by you: the benefits will be reaped by other organisations.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I am not providing any rationale to communalism. Your party did not get a single seat. You must have some introspection.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Yours is not a secular party.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: For Heaven's sake, please have some introspection. I am talking about a serious matter. Sir, this is what has happened in Auranagabad. You may call it Hindu backlash or centralisation or polarisation of Hindu elements. The point is, people think the Government cannot protect. Therefore, they go to the fafia don and seek their protection. I remember, the other day when I was in Pune, I was told a story by the great leader praja samajwadi, oldest socialist. In Bombay, a lady professor has a house. There is some park and some minority community people were offering prayers, two or three. This lady went to the President of the organisation to which she belonged She said 'this is what is happening why don't you ask the police or somebody to take action?' He said 'We are all secular and, therefore, we must carry on'. Naturally, that lady professor had to go to a Shiv Sena man. He said 'don't worry'. Within eight days, they were all removed. *Danda* did the trick and nobody would dare to offer prayers. How will this educated lady professor keep her face when Government cannot provide protection or give justice. With the Janata Party, with the Congress Party, with the Telugu Desam Party or with the mafia dons. Sir, you come from Bombay.

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni]

Therefore, I say, you and I and everybody else should be careful if you want to maintain the integrity and the glorious traditions of the country. You will have to be beware of such elements. I do not know whether you have seen Gandhiji or not. But we have learnt from him. The secular character of the country should be protected at all costs. Sometimes, I really think whether there is defeat of secularism in the country. I am really sorry to say this.

When Mr. Chavan was the Home Minister, a study was made about unemployment and social tensions. I want that a study should be made to find out why this Hindu backlash is growing. A study should be made by the Home Ministry to find out why these things are going on, how some people are able to come together, form a type of an army and threaten people. Leave aside the *matkas* and the mafia dons. Sir, you come from Bombay. You know. If you want to remove anybody from a flat, you have to pay money. I will mention what happened in my place, Ichalkaranji in Kolhapur district A friend of mine has an old houes. There was a tenant. He could not remove him through court or police. Then somebody advised him to go to Kolhapur and meet some mafia men. Within 8 days the whole thing was settled and Rs. 25,000 of that poor man had gone. So, what should he do, where should he have the belief? The credibility of the police system, the credibility of the political system is at stake. That is why the Hindu fanatics or whoever they are are gaining ground and upperhand. I would not like to elaborate this point any more.

I would now like to refer to the third point raised by Shri Subramanian Swamy but not in the context in which he referred to the point. There are so many so-called swamies and gods, whether it is Chandra Swamy or Shankaracharya. I can understand Shri Shankaracharya expressing his opinion on Sati, but the point is that ours is a democratic country and we, the political leaders, should be cautious about this. I do not blame anybody. I do not want to name anybody, but Heaven's sake do not get afraid. A boss of some political party is also a disciple of Chandra Swamy clan.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Your Cabinet Ministers.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I am talking to Shri Subramanian Swamy. You must understand, I can speak a lot on this but they are all great friends of mine, I cannot expose everybody. So, this godman, Chandra Swamy or any swamy for that matter.....

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Not me.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Sir, Shri Subramanian Swamy is a perverted Swamy. What I want to say is, whether it is the Yagna performed in Karnataka or it is the Devilal's yagna in Kurushetra, these are the most dangerous things to be done by political leaders. 75 per cent of the people in this country are uneducated. If I go to a yagna or bow myself with so much reverence before a political leader, they will take it that they have also to do the same way. That is why these images are created. Whether this Chandra Swamy did a right thing or a wrong thing, that my good friend, Mr. Ram, will take care because he will fight for him and I wish him good luck for him.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: I fight impartially for Congressmen also.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Mr. Swamy made a point why Hindu chauvinism was coming. It is coming because we, the leaders in the political parties, are performing yagnas, arranging havans. This is all damn nonsense. Are we really secular?

तिधर्मी तो निधर्मी रहना चाहिये। गांधी जी ने यही सिखाया, पंडित जी ने यही बोला

We are saying that we are going to this havan or that havan, whether it is Devilal's yajna or Bhajanlal's yajna, this is not proper.

श्री जसवंत सिंह : अपा साहब क्या कह गए। आप ही के कैबिनेट मंत्री हैं भजनलाल जी।

उपसभाध्यक्ष श्री जगेश देसाई : आप भी बोलेंगे ।

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: You have heard what I have said. So, Sir, I am coming to the end. Mr. Jaswant Singh, you have to be very careful. Your party stands on the Hindu card. You are being flashed everywhere. Do not worry, your party has no future at all. Even Balasaheb Deoras has no future. For Heaven's sake do not touch this point.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Sir, with your permission and with Appa Sahib's courtesy, I would submit that we do not stand on any sectarian card. We do not stand on a Hindu card or a Muslim card and when the Chief of the RSS decided to express a view that there is no alternative to the ruling party, then we are on record as saying that is fallacious. We do not bank on the RSS and we certainly do not, like our Maharashtrian friends do, bank our strength on the obscenity which is Shiv Sena.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I have got a difference of opinion with Mr. Jaswant Singh, but I do not want to take more time of the House. I am coming to the end of my speech. What Mr. Jaswant Singh says is a layman's excuse. If he reads Mr. Khare's article today in the Times of India, he will be more enlightened. That knowledge will be much more because that is also in god English. I cannot speak good English.

So I want to draw the attention of the Home Minister to this. A study was made in the Home Ministry about the unemployment problem and social tensions and to what extent it is causing violence in the rural areas. I would request him that whether it is the Hindu card, or Hindu backlash, or whatever it might be, in Punjab, in Bombay, or anywhere, these mafia dons are being supported and a day will come when the entire majority in this country will feel a little bit insecure and unprotected and that is why they will go to these mafias and elections will be very difficult, I mean elections not for the Congress or for the Telugu Desam or Janata, but elections for the survival of democracy in this country. I would only urge the Home Minister to look into this problem and see that the credibility of the political system is maintained. Thank you.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: That is irrelevant. The most important slated to speak in this discussion, I was a little wary. But I am glad that I have got the opportunity to speak on this subject.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Anyhow, we are not responsible for that.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: That is irrelevant. The most important Ministry today is the Home Ministry because it directly affects the lives of our 800 million Indians in a democracy. What we look for in the conduct of the Home Ministry is fairness and equitable approach to India and all Indians. I would like to quote, when Pt. Nehru was once asked "what is the challenge that you face in India?", he replied, "establishment of a just society through just means". You must take note of that. That was and still is, in my opinion, the primary challenge that we face today, both as Indians and as Home Ministry.

Sir, I would like to start with the Sarkaria Commission. This is what our State Government has said on the various issues that have been raised. I may be permitted to quote:

> "The Republic of India was established willingly by the people of India. Over-centralisation of authority and the unconstitutional accumulation of power by a Union Government are more like the force that is associated with autocratic Empires and Kingdoms. It is that very Central autocracy, and not the rightful claims of our States, that can endanger the unity and integrity of the country. It is such danger to the country's interests which requires to be investigated, located and guarded against".

I further quote:

[Shrimati Renuka Chowdhury]

If the nature of the Indian Constitution is co-operative federalism, the aim of the Indian Constitution is equilibrium, political, economic and social... Ineffective or inadequate representation of a State's point of view in the affairs of the Union, however, caused, certainly leads to a sense of neglect among the people of that State. State governance touches a citizen far more surely and far more frequently and directly than the Union governance". "It is a familiar constitutional principle of federal distribution of legislative and executive powers that subjects or items of governance which bear upon a citizen most in life's routine should, as far as possible, be placed and governed nearest to him: for his due appreciation or effective protest in matters political and administrative. For that very reason, a citizen of India, in normal times and in a normal way, identifies himself more than closely with the State to which he belongs or in which he domiciled rahter than closely with the which he also belongs and of which he is a citizen."

Sir, what I have quoted is only a part of it and, in essence, is what the Union Minister and the Minister of State for Home must take cognizance of. We are, as a people of this country, as a people belonging to various States, partners of an equal responsibility with you. You cannot treat the States as your personal feifdom. We do not want benevolent despotism to be carried on under the guise of democracy. Then there is no democracy. There is only *dandacracy*.

Sir, I ask you: What inherent arrogance inspires Ministers to address their personal party-affiliated meetings where they condemn parties like ours which have been voted to power with an immense majority? The Minister for Home was quoted in the newspapers yesterday in Madras. If it suits the Minister of State to sit and giggle, perhaps he should take cognizance of what we are saying. We will not be treated with condescension.

AN HON. MEMBER: He was not allowed to speak there.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: That is his problem.

They cannot look down upon us and make irresponsible statements—coming as they do from the Home Ministry—because they have to be equally responsible for the rest of the country. When it suits them they say one thing and when it does not suit them they quickly switch to other things. And this inherent arrogance has been derived out of this improbable system—which has repeatedly failed—which inspires the Ministers to go ahead and talk like that. What do they mean, by inference saying that parties like ours are not secular? Do they take the virtue of secularism to their own shoulders? Do they have a patent on secularism in this country? Do they claim that it is secularism under the guise of communalism? ...(*Interruptions*)...No, I mean communalism. They do because they like to behave as if secularism is a patent of their party. But it is not.

There cannot be a more secular party than the party which has voted us to power, the party which we proudly represent in this august House today and if they could come forward and interpret Andhra and the disgraceful debacle which they committed earlier in the history of Andhra, they will realize that after the present Chief Minister came to power—and we are very proud to say that—we have had no communal riots in the State of Andhra Pradesh which is the second largest State in the country. I go on record in emphasizing that...(*Interruptions*)....

SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG: What happened in Hyderabad?

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Come on. You clarify I yield the floor to you.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Sir, I can tell for the information of Mr. Irshadbaig that since the Telugu Desam Party came to power, there was not a single communal riot in Andhra Pradesh, and the only communal riot which took place

was in September 1984 when they propped up a puppet Government headed by Bhaskara Rao.

...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: I will now go ahead and speak on only two of the issues that have been raised by the Sarkaria Commission. The first one which I am presenting is on the role of the Governor in State governance. I also seek your permission, Sir, to quote from the Sarkaria Commission Report, and it is what my State Government has represented.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): You will speak on the role of the Governor but not on the individual.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: I am quoting from what my Government represented:

"However noble or moral a Governor may be, however successful or statseman-like he may be, however thoughtful and subtle he may be, he is a marionette whose strings are pulled by the Prime Minister of India."

I go on to quote:

"An objective analysis of the office or Governor will show that he is the last vestige of imperialism, a modified version of the agent of Viceroy."

I further quote:

"A catalogue of mistakes and mischiefs played by the Governors is available in the 'White paper on the Office of Governor' released by the Government of Karnataka. Since the publication of the white paper, many more mechinations of the Governor have come to light. The most despicable and cruel assault on democracy was inflicted by the Governor of Andhra Pradesh when the Telugu Desam majority party leader Sri N. T. Rama Rao and his cabinet was dismissed on an alleged suspicion that the Chief Minister did not enjoy the majority support in the legislature. By virtue of this single action of the Governor of Andhra Pradesh, the office of Governor has forfeited credibility for ever."

Sir, consecutively it is not as if other Governors or the present Governors who is there just now have redeemed the reputation of this office. There is an inherent suspicion which is created by the people on the role of the Governor today. They are either running parallel governments or they are not answerable to anyone. This is a lacuna in the Governor's post. They are answerable to none. Unlike the President, the Vice-President, the Speaker, the Governor is only answerable to the Government. Where do the people check him. There is a phenomenal expenditure incurred in the States by the Governors. There is no one to question them. The States have gone blue in their face representing. Then we have asked to cut it down because there is drought in the country. What kind of an involuted attempt is this when we proclaim drought on the one hand and on the other hand we pardon all this? So, the question of the Governor and the role of the Governor in the Centre-State relationship is one big question mark. As the Sarkaria Commission has recommended, we have put forward from my State what we have come across as we want an objective analysis of this. We are seeking it.

Sir, the other point that I am going to make is about the Inter-State Council. Article 263 reads:

"If at any time it appears to the President that the public interests would be served by the establishment of a Council charged with the duty of—

"(c) making recommendations upon upon disputes which may have arisen between States;

"(b) investigating and discussing subjects in which some or all of the States, or the Union and one or more of the States, have a common interest; or

"(c) making recommendations upon any such subject and, in particular, recommendations for the better coordi-

[Shrimati Renuka Chowdhury]

nation of policy and action with respect to that subject,

"it shall be lawful for the President by order to establish such a Council, and to define the nature of the duties to be performed by it and its organisation and procedure."

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI M. M. JACOB): This is a representation, not the Sarkaria Commission Report.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Fine. I am only telling you what my States has represented. I wish you took cognizance of it. That is why I am quoting it in the House. Otherwise, it will end up like so many laws which have been relegated to the libraries. We are putting it forward as the second largest State, and I am speaking on behalf of the nation.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: I did not question the size of the State.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): The time is limited.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: If I am not interrupted, I can do a better job. I quote:

"It would be a healthy practice to refer all proposed legislations in the Concurrent List to such representative Inter-State Council for eliciting their opinions. A forum where free and discussion could take place on issues affecting Inter-State and Union-State relations is not only useful but is also necessary. It shall be a noble constitutional device for discussing the nation's problems generally before those problems become intractable but particularly to maintain fair and just harmonious constitutional relations between the Union and the States or between State and State."

Sir, this is highly commandable. This is the need of the hour today. If only the Government could overcome their own self-satisfied smugness here, they would realise the need for such a relationship to be established immediately and not for taking more and more powers as they have done in the past. If you see the map of India today, Sir, the proven inability of the power in Delhi to represent the views of a diverse India is a stark reality. You have only got to listen to the news, open the papers. I won't even say "the Indian news" at this point because there again they fail. But repeatedly on every aspect we have got little implosions of unrest, of unfinished matters which have been left dangling there for the people to take cognizance of tensions which have been pulling people either way, of problems that have remained unsolved, of problems which are spilling over, which we have not been able to deal with, of problems which have been created by the Government and have gone out of their hands all in the name of vote, as has been stated by other colleagues of mine of the House. This is the failure of the Union Government.

There has been a recommendation by about seven Chief Ministers that under Article 263 an Inter-State Council should be established. I now ask the Minister why not? Why dont you consider this and take cognisance of this immediately?

We now come to the matter of law and order. I will speak about law and order from the viewpoint of a women—more so as a woman — because women are targets in society where there is no law and order. We are the people who harbour a foetus within us. We are the promoters, we are the preservers of life. So, we are deeply concerned, I am deeply concerned with what is going to be the future of life in this country, in this nation of mine. I take special cognisance of the lack of law and order in this country. I mourn it, because we end up being the targets. We are the first ones to be trampled, to be violated, to be used and abused, while we are essentially the core

of every family. We are the nuclei that holds every family together that forms the society and it is our moral responsibility to take cognisance of this, to relate it to the matter of law and order, because without law and order no society will exist. Yet, can we today with a hand on our heart stand up right an dsay there is law and order in our country? Can the Ministry take pride in announcing tha hey have achieved any amount of law and order? Can we look back to 1984 in anger and shame or do we look back in pride on the incidents of 1984, the breakdown of the system like that which is inherent in the law and order, in the well-knit society? Once that breaks, to re-establish the complete picture is going to be very very difficult, and worse if we bring in communal elements, worse under the flag of secular India we promote communalism, under the guise of doing good, where we had disastrous incidents all over the country, breaking out like the pox. So, I, as a woman, am deeply concerned about the existence of the present problems which are continuously growing.

The law and order naturally brings us down to the concept of police. We talk about policing the area; we talk about police protection. All of us sit back and blame the police — police are inadequate, police are bad. We take the stick and beat them repeatedly with the some blame. Now, what are we as a people doing to promote the lot of the police? Now, I want to ask the Minister...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Please conclude now.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Yes, Sir. If you will let me say, I do not think there should be a time limit to our talking about matters of national importance. (*Interruptions*) Please permit me to complete. I am just concluding. I want to ask the Minister what have they done regarding the first Report of the National Police Commission? Have you taken cognisance of that?

AN HON. MEMBER: What is that?

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: It is a good question. I would like to quote from it. It says:

> "We feel that full justice has not been done in the past to the policeman in regard to his pay structure vis-a-vis other services. Despite the low status accorded to him in public services, the policemen has time and again shown commendable loyalty to the call of duty and has always been instrumental in maintaining public order even in the most trying situations, in times of crisis brought about by strikes in certain vital sectors etc. etc. We strongly feel that the case of the policeman for a rational pay structure should not be deferred any longer, but it should be resolved in a fair and just manner to sustain police morale, which is most important in the context of growing developments in the country."

I am saying this because the Union Ministry has now woken up to the fact saying that they want to modernise weapons for the police. What will these weapons do, if you are not giving them the social support system? I will only talk about two subjects — one is their pay-structure and the second is their housing. The deficiency in housing and increasing hardship in paying high rents for private accommodation secured with great difficulty operate as the largest single factor responsible for the grievous loss of morale in police ranks, particularly the constabulary. We, therefore, consider it as a matter of urgency that this condition of service which has remained neglected for many years be taken up for immediate fulfilment. Sir this is the lot of the police in our country. What is the Union Ministry doing about it?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI): It is the responsibility of the State Government.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: They do say, it is the responsibility of the State Government. I agree. May I now whether the Centre has taken cognizance of this report? Have you tried to implement it.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI: Yes.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: I would like a more precise answere to it than 'yes': 'Yes' is rather ambiguous.

Sir, I now come to the atrocities that are committed on women. I must be permitted to say a few words on this. The atrocities on women come in many ways including Parliament. We pass Bills which are detrimental to women. We pass Bills which are detrimental to life and liberty in this country. We pass Bills which negate the very essence of democracy. The women-folk constitute 52 per cent of this country. We are partners in this freedom of life here. Then, I consider the major atrocity committed on Indian women of this country is passing of the 59th Constitutional Amendment Bill.

Sir, now I want to deal with the misuse of intelligence agencies. I would like to refer particularly to the Minister of State for Home, Mr. P. Chidambaram because a colleague of mine, Mr. Jaswant Singh, was investigated by CBI.

AN HON. MEMBER: Why?

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: I consider it as a shame. I don't care 'why'.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Madam, will you yeild?

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: I may be permitted to complete the sentence. He has the way of jumping the gun. Let me complete the sentence. Regarding CBI invstigation, Mr Jaswant Singh wrote to Mr P. Chidambaram saying that...

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I have replied.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: I am not concerned about the reply. I am concerned by the inference. What a shame that they find it bloody funny. I am sorry I take back the word 'bloody'. I am glad that they find it amusing. But I don't.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I am not amused.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: How can you even think of paying an IB or CBI person? Is that what the nation is paying for investigating Members of Parliament? By inference.....

AN HON. MEMBER: Why not?

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: I say, I am glad. Is it by inference that you can denigrate the office of the Rajya Sabha? These are the same people who talked about dignity of this House. You did not have the courtesy to extend to us to pick up the telephone and question us, if you need some information and then if we are proved wrong, you can do something about it. You don't have the basic courtesy which is extended to the Members.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: They are too busy with Chadha.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Madam, will you yeild now?

Sir, Mr Jaswant Singh is here. He wrote me a letter. I have given him a reply I believe, he is satisfied with the reply. I do not see why he should have gone out of his way to engage an Advocate for a non existent cause.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: I seek a clarification. Did he or did he not put a tail on Mr. Jaswant Singh?

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: It is not his fault. It is only paronomasia.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: It is only Win Chadha.

I want the minister to answer. May I know whether he had put a tail on Mr. Jaswant Singh or not?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Ask him to read my reply.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: I am not concerned about the million citizens. Therefore, I charge you stand up and say yes If you want to answer me, you will answer.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: If he had shared with you his letter, he should have also shared with you my reply.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: He can very well speak for himself.

I would now in conclusion say that the debate on the working of the Home Ministry provides us an opportunity to share with the Government our concerns, our anxiety, our fears and our apprehensions. We criticise your functioning because we find it wanting and when we find the functioning of our Home Ministry inadequate, then, that is a matter of very serious concern because what you do and more importantly what you fail to do influences the life of everyone of our 800 million citizens. Therefore, I charge you with failure. It is because millions of our countrymen and more particularly the women are today filled with fear. We are insecure in independent India because of the failure of your Ministry. Sir, I seek your protection that the Minister would take cognisance and see it is given due importance and do something concrete and positive towards all these things which have been raised by my various colleagues. Thank you.

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEPTULLA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, for how long we are going to sit in the House today?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Up to 6.00 p.m. and beyond 6.00 p.m. also.

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEPTULLA: Because I am not going to break my speech.

मान्यवर, आज हम होम मिनिस्ट्री की, जो कुछ उन्होंने पिछले वर्षों में काम किया है और जो उनकी 1987–88 की रिपोर्ट हमारे हाथ में आई है, उसके ऊपर हम चर्चा करने के लिये खड़े हुये हैं।

मैं इस बात के लिये आपकी आभारी हूं कि आपने मुझे समय दिया और यह भी कहा कि हमारा हाऊस कुछ और समय के लिए आगे बढ़ा देंगे। मेरी माननीय कलीगा जो बोल रही थीं, तो मैं एक छोटा सा करेक्शन करना चाहती हूं कि हम होम मिनिस्ट्री की डिमाड्स पर नहीं बोल रहे हैं, बल्कि उसकी वर्किंग के ऊपर बात कर रहे हैं।

एक बात उन्होंने जो दूसरी कही अपनी स्पीच में, शायद हो सकता है मेरे सुनने में गलती हो, या हो सकता है कि उनके बोलने में गलती हो। उन्होंने कहा कि सिर्फ कम्यूनलिज्म का पेटेंट हमने नहीं किया है। ठीक बात है नहीं किया। हमने कम्यूनलिज्म का पेटेंट अपने नाम नहीं करवाया है, सेक्यूलरिज्म का पेटेंट हमने अपने नाम पर करवाया है। (व्यवधान) हम लोगों ने सेक्यूलरिज्म का पेटेंट जरूर अपने नाम करवाया है, जिसका सबूत आपको, मान्यवर, कल हमारे (व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) : मेहरबानी करके आप उनको सुनिये। आपको किसी ने डिस्टर्ब नहीं किया था।

डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला : मान्यवर, आपने आज अखबारों में पढ़ा होगा कि कल हमारी पार्टी का जो दो दिन का अधिवेशन था कांग्रेस का, उसके अंदर हमने यह संकल्प लिया है, जो हमारा पुराना ही वायदा है और जो कांग्रेस पार्टी की आइडियालोजी रही है कि हम सेक्युलरिज्म में मानते हैं और हम सेक्युलरिज्म से आगे बढ़ेंगे और उसकी मजबूती के साथ हिफाजत करेंगे, हमने उसका यकीनन पेटेंट अपने नाम पर आज से नहीं लिखवाया है, हमारी आजादी की जब हम लड़ाई लड़ रहे थे उस समय से लिखवाया है और उसके लिये, हम अपनी जान भी कुर्बान कर देंगे। आज जब मैं बात करती हूं जान कुर्बान करने की, तो मेरे दिल में एक भावना उठती है उन सब

[डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला]

हमारे पुलिस के और दूसरे पर्सोनल के बारे में जिन्होंने इस देश में न सिर्फ आजादी की, हमारी कन्स्टीट्यूशन की, हमारी डेमोक्रेसी की रक्षा के लिये, बल्कि टेरोरिस्टस के साथ लड़ कर जिन्होंने अपनी जान दी है, जिन्होंने अपने घरों में चरागों को बुझाया है, हमारी उनके साथ सहानुभूतियां हैं, हमदर्दियां हैं और इसके साथ-साथ हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब यहां मौजूद नहीं हैं, मगर मुझे यकीन है कि उन्हें इस बात का खबर मिलेगी और उनकी जो कुर्बानी है, उसका भी हम भुला नहीं पायेंगे कि हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब के करीबी अजीजों के घरों में भी गोलियां चलीं और खून की नदियां बहीं कितने अफसोस की बात है कि चालीस साल हमारी आजादी को हुए, हमारे देश का बटंवारा हुआ, हमने बर्दाश्त किया। कुछ लोगों की, साम्राज्यवादी शक्तियों ने इस देश का बंटवारा किया, भारत माता के एक अंग को तोड़ दिया। हमने बर्दाश्त किया। हम लोगों ने यह सोचा कि ठीक है हमारा जख्म जिसमें से खून बह रहा था, भर जाएगा। मगर हमारी उसी पड़ोसी मुल्क ने, जिसने कि इस देश को तोड़ा था, उसने उस भरे हुए जख्म को भी बर्दाश्त नहीं किया और अकसर और बेश्तर आपने देखा है कि कहीं न कहीं उसके खून को उन्होंने फिर से रिसने पर मजबूर कर दिया और यह कितने अफसोस की बात है कि पाकिस्तान के बारे में जो कुछ आज आप खबरों में पढ़ रहे हैं कि उन्होंने किस तरीके से न सिर्फ टेरोरिस्ट्स को पनाह दी, न सिर्फ हमारे यहां से जो हवाई-जहाज

5 P.M. को हाईजैक करके लेकर गये, उन्हें आराम से रखा...न सिर्फ वहां उनको ट्रेनिंग दी बल्कि वे तमाम हथियार जो कि सब से ज्यादा सोफिस्टीकेटेड कहलाते हैं हमारे बार्डर से भेजे और उसके साथ-साथ उन्होंने ड्रग्ज की स्मगलिंग शुरू कराई। मुझे इस बात पर खुशी है और मैं इस बात के लिये सरकार को मुबारकवाद देना चाहती हूं कि उसने हमारे बार्डर्ज को सील करने का निर्णय लिया। बार्डर्ज को सील करने का निर्णय बहुत सही है। मगर कितने अफसोस की बात है कि आज दुनिया के देश जब एक-दूसरे के साथ मिल रहे हैं वह वर्ल्ड, जिन लोगों ने लड़ाइयां की थीं वे मिल रहे हैं और दोस्तियां कर रहे हैं और एक हमारा पड़ौसी देश जिसके साथ हमने दोस्ती का हाथ बढ़ाया और हमने हमेशा कोशिश की वह चाहे कोई सार्क हो, चाहे नान-एलाइन हो, चाहे कोई भी प्लेटफार्म हो हम अपने पड़ोसी मुल्कों के साथ हमेशा कोआपरेशन करते रहे हैं, चाहे इकोनोमिक कोआपरेशन हो या कोई टैक्नीकल कोआपरेशन हो, लेकिन हमारे पड़ोसी देश ने उस दोस्ती के हाथ को बजाय पकड़ने के न सिर्फ झटक दिया बल्कि उन लोगों के साथ दोस्ती बढ़ाई जो दोबारा उन्हीं साम्राज्यवादी तत्वों के साथ मिल कर हमारे देश का बंटवारा करना चाहते हैं। यह बड़े शर्म की बात है और जितनी भी सख्त से सख्त अलफाज में इसकी मजम्मत की जाये मैं समझती हूं कि वह कम है। मुझे यहां बोलते-बोलते एक बात याद आई, यह अक्तूबर, 1984 की बात है, एक यूनाइटेड नेशन्ज की कान्फ्रेन्स के सिलसिले में मैं अपनी जिन्दगी में पहली बार पाकिस्तान गई और वहां उनके प्रेसीडेंट जिया-उल-हक साहब से मिलने का इत्तफाक हुआ। जिया-उल-हक साहब ने पहला सवाल मुझसे यह किया कि आप लोग क्यों हमारे ऊपर शक करते हैं? मैंने उनसे निहायत ही मोअद्दबाना कहा कि जनाब प्रेसीडेंट साहब हम आप पर कोई शक नहीं करते और 39–40 सालों में हमने आप पर कभी कोई शक नहीं किया, मगर अफसोस की बात यह है कि आप जिनकी मदद कर रहे हैं वे खुद यह कहते हैं टैरोरिस्ट्स यह कहते हैं कि आपकी हमदर्दियां उनके साथ हैं और जो कुछ हमें सबूत मिले हैं वे भी बताते हैं कि आप उनके साथ हैं तथा आप उनकी मदद कर रहे हैं। हमारी आदत किसी पर शक करने की नहीं है। कितने अफसोस की बात है कि उन पंजाब के नौजवानों ने जिन्होंने तीन-तीन बार इस भारत माता की रक्षा की अपने खून से भारत माता का सिंदूर बने जिनके हाथों से हल छुड़वाकर जिन्होंने इस देश में ग्रीनरेवोल्यूशन लाया, उनके हाथों में बंदूकें दे दीं, अमरीका और चाइना की बनी हुयी बंदूकें उनके हाथों में थमा दीं और उन्हीं बंदूकों से उस पंजाब की पवित्र धरती पर वे अपने भाइयों का

खून बहा रहे हैं। यह कितने अफसोस की बात है और इसकी जितनी भी मजाहमत की जाये उतनी ही कम है। मैं कोशिश करूंगी कि हमारे आपोजीशन के जो मैम्बर हैं वे भी हमारी सरकार के साथ इस बात पर शामिल हों और कोशिश यह करें कि हम देश में ऐसा माहौल लायें कि जहां पुलिस को मजबूत करने की जरूरत पड़े वहां सैकुलरिज्म को और हमारी जो डेमोक्रेटिक वेल्यूज हैं उनको भी हम मजबूत कर सकें। यहां मैं सैक्युलरिज्म की बात कर रही हूं, आपने पढ़ा कल हमारी पार्टी के पोलिटीकल रेजोल्यूशन में हमारे नेता श्री राजीव गांधी ने यह बात कही कि हम सैक्युलरिज्म को मानते है और आज से नहीं हमारी कांग्रेस पार्टी आजादी से पहले से मानती है और हम सैक्युलरिज्म की बुनियाद को मजबूत करेंगे। मुझे इस बात पर खुशी है, आज मेरे सामने होम मिनिस्ट्री की रिपोर्ट है 1987-88 की और यह भी मुझे याद है कि पिछले रमजान में जो हमारा मुतबरिक महीना होता है उस दफा खून की नदियां हमारे नजदीक के शहरों में बह रही थीं वही बात सुब्रह्मणियन स्वामी साहब ने कही, ठीक है, मगर कहने का एक तरीका होता है, सब के दिल रो रहे थे, कोई खुश नहीं था कि किसी का खून बहाया जाये। मगर मैं इस बात की होम मिनिस्ट्री को मुबारकवाद देती हूं कि पिछले 10 महीनों से हमारे देश में कोई कम्युनल सिच्युएशन नहीं पैदा हुई और सरकार ने इसके ऊपर बहुत अच्छा निर्णय लिया है और हमें चाहिये कि हम सरकार की मदद करें और यह कोशिश करें कि जहां पर भी कोई टेंशन जेनरेट हो रही हो हम सब मिल कर उसको दूर करें।

मैं यहां एक बात के ऊपर आपका ध्यान खींचना चाहती हूं आपके जरिए होम मिनिस्टर साहब का कि इंदिरा गांधी जी ने 15 नुकाती प्रोग्राम माइनारिटी के डिवेलपमेंट के लिए बनाया था उसके ऊपर सरकार ने क्या निर्णय लिया है और जो चिट्ठियां राज्य सरकारों को लिखी गई थीं उसके राज्य सरकारों से कितने सही जवाब आए हैं और उन्होंने उसके ऊपर क्या काम करके आपके पास रिपोर्ट भेजी है उसका कोई ब्यौरा आप अपने जवाब में दें आपकी बहुत मेहरबानी होगी। इसलिए कि श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने नेहरू जी की पोलिसी और गांधी जी की पोलीसी पर चलकर हमारे सेकुलरिज्म को मजबूत बनाने के लिए यह प्रोग्राम बनाया था क्योंकि इस मुल्क की सारी माइनोरिटीज को यह हक है। हमारे मुल्क में अलग अलग मजहबों को मानने वाले, अलग-अलग जुबानों को बोलने वाले और अलग-अलग रीजन में रहने वाले हैं और यही हमारी सबसे बड़ी खूबसूरती है कि हमारी डाइवर्सिटी में यूनिटी है। मगर अगर एक कम्युनिटी के लोग आगे नहीं बढ़ेंगे तो देश की तरक्की नहीं होगी। इस देश की गरीबी में जितना हमारा हक है, उतना ही हक हमारा देश की तरक्की के अंदर है।

दूसरा, मान्यवर, मैं आपसे यह पूछना चाहती हूं कि पिछले कई सालों में जो कोई भी कम्युनल राइट्स हुई हैं, उस सिलसिले में रिहेबलिटेशन के जो काम सरकार ने किए हैं, जो डायरेक्शन्स स्टेट-गवर्नमेंट को भेजी हैं, उन पर स्टेट-गवर्नमेंट ने क्या निर्णय लिए हैं और क्या काम किए हैं, उसकी रिपोर्ट भी अगर आप हमारे सामने, सदन के सामने रखेंगे तो बेहतर होगा। अगर कोई इस तरह की कोशिश की जाय कि किसी किस्म का प्यूनिटिव टैक्स लगा दें उस एरिए के ऊपर ताकि कम्युनल राइट्स होने की कोई उम्मीद न हो और उस पर प्रतिबंध लगाया जा सके। नेशनल इंटीग्रेशन की जो 23-6-87 को मीटिंग हुई थी वहां हक्सर साहब की सदारत में हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी ने पर्सनल चिट्ठियां लिखी थीं स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को, उस संबंध में मैं सरकार से यह पूछना चाहती हूं कि उन चिट्ठियों के बारे में किन स्टेट-गवर्नमेंट से जवाब आए हैं और उनके बारे में क्या निर्णय लिए गए हैं?

यह बात सही है कि लॉ एंड आर्डर जो है, वह स्टेट-सब्जेक्ट है मेरी माननीया सदस्या भाषण देकर चली गई। मैं उनसे सहमत हूं कि जब गरीबी आती है तो महिला के ऊपर उसका असर पड़ता है और जब कहीं कम्युनल सिचुएशन, ला-एंड-आर्डर सिचुएशन होती है तो महिला

[डा० (श्रीमती) नजमा हेपतुल्ला]

पर उसका असर पड़ता है। मगर हमारी जो जिम्मेदारियां हैं स्टेट गवर्नमेंट की, आप भी स्टेट गवर्नमेंट से आई हैं, मैं भी किसी स्टेट गवर्नमेंट से आई हूं, हम कौंसिल आफ स्टेट के अंदर बैठे हैं, तो किस-किस स्टेट गवर्नमेंट ने कम्युनल-राइट्स के बारे में, ला-एंड-आर्डर के बारे में क्या-क्या किया है, उसके बारे में आप बताएं स्पेशल-कोर्ट्स जो सेंट्रल-गवर्नमेंट ने सजेस्ट किए थे ताकि जो केसेज, क्रिमिनल-केसेज पड़े रहते हैं, उन पर निर्णय लिया जा सके। सरकार ने उनके ऊपर क्या निर्णय लिया है और स्टेट में क्या ऐसे स्पेशल कोर्ट बनाए हैं, इसके बारे में भी आप जवाब देंगे तो देश के लिए बहुत बेहतर होगा।

मैं अभी आपा साहब कुलकर्णी जी, जो मेरी स्टेट से आते हैं, उनकी स्पीच सुन रही थी। उन्होंने एक बड़ी खास बात उठाई है। मैं महाराष्ट्र से आती हूं और महाराष्ट्र के अंदर, खासतौर पर बंबई शहर के अंदर, जो कि मिनी-हिंदुस्तान कहलाता है, वहां हम लोग एक भाईचारे के माहौल में रहते थे, मगर अफसोस की बात है कि वहां पर भी ऐसी ताकतें सिर उठा रही हैं और मैं कहूंगी कि उठा चुकी हैं, जिनको 'शिव-सेना' कहते हैं। मान्यवर, शायद आपको भी याद होगा कि जिस इलाके में आप रहते हैं, उसी इलाके में मैं भी रहती हूं और चंद महीने पहले वहां एक बाई-इलेक्शन हुआ था असेंब्ली-कांस्टीच्यूएन्सी का, उसके अंदर शिव-सेना के लोगों ने मजहब का नाम लेकर हिन्दू-मुसलमान का नाम लेकर वोट मांगे। इसके पहले यह बात काश्मीर में हुई थी उस वक्त हमने इसके खिलाफ खड़े होकर हिम्मत से, बहादुरी से मुकाबला किया था और हमने बता दिया था कि चाहे वह कश्मीर हो, चाहे कन्या-कुमारी हो, चाहे महाराष्ट्र हो या और कोई जगह हो हिंदुस्तान की, वहां अगर कोई मजहब का नाम लेकर वोट मांगेगा तो हम उसका मुकाबला करेंगे। यही बात मैं अब भी कहना चाहती हूं कि अभी औरंगाबाद के अंदर उसी तरीके का माहौल पैदा किया गया है यह कहा गया कि हमें मुसलमानों के वोट नहीं चाहिएं, हमें दूसरी माइनोरिटीज के वोट चाहिएं। हमें सिर्फ हिन्दुओं के वोट चाहिएं आज जो सेकुलरिज्म की बात करते हैं, जो डेमोक्रेसी की बात करते हैं, मैं उनसे सवाल करना चाहती हूं कि क्या यही सेकुलरिज्म है, क्या यही डेमोक्रेसी है? हां, हमने सेकुलरिज्म की, डेमोक्रेसी की बात की है और हम उसकी पूरी हिफाजत करेंगे।

मान्यवर, मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि नार्थ-ईस्ट के अंदर हमारी सरकार ने बहुत स्ट्रोंग मेजरस लिए हैं और वहां हमारी सिचुएशन बहुत मजबूत हुई है, खास तौर से मिजोरम, त्रिपुरा और नागालैंड के अंदर हमारी ला-एंड-आर्डर की सिचुएशन इम्प्रूव हुई है और अब वहां पर जो रहने वाले लोग हैं वह समझते हैं कि सरकार के इस मजबूत कदम से, इस ठोस कदम से उनकी जानमाल की हिफाजत हो रही है। मैं भी कहना चाहूंगी कि जहां पर आपने इस तरह के मजबूत कदम उठाए हैं, आप ने इस तरह के ठोस निर्णय लिए हैं, वहां पर ला एंड आर्डर की सिचुएशन इम्प्रूव हुई है

महोदय, जहां हम होम मिनिस्ट्री की बात कर रहे हैं वहां मैं दो-चार जुमले पुलिस के बारे में भी कहना चाहूंगी। मुझसे पहले बोलनेवाली सदस्या रेणुका चौधरी जी ने किसी कमीशन की रिपोर्ट के बारे में कहा जो कि पुलिस के बारे में थी। लेकिन उन्होंने शायद होम मिनिस्ट्री की रिपोर्ट नहीं पढ़ी। जो ताजी रिपोर्ट अभी हमारे सदन के सामने रखी गयी है उसमें सरकार ने ऐसे बहुत-से मेजर्स लिए हैं जिनके तहत पुलिस फोर्स को मजबूत किया जाएगा और उनको ट्रेनिंग दी जाएगी ताकि वे नए हालात का मुकाबला कर सकें। मान्यवर, क्या हम को अंदाजा था कि हमारे पड़ोसी मुल्क द्वारा एक-से-एक सोफिस्टीकेटेड हथियार इस देश के टेररिस्ट्स लोगों को दिए जा रहे हैं और उन्हें उन हथियारों के इस्तेमाल की ट्रेनिंग दी जा रही है? आप इस बात का अन्दाजा कर सकते हैं कि हमारे पुलिस वाल 12 बोर की बंदूक और 303 की बन्दूक से कैसे लड़ सकते है। जब तक वे उसको

उठाएंगे और मारेंगे, उससे पहले ही वह मारे जाएंगे और इसी कारण हमारे कितने ही पुलिस पर्सोनल मारे गए हैं। मैं सरकार से यह कहना चाहूंगी कि जहां वह और निर्णय ले रहे हैं वहां यह भी करें कि हमारी पुलिस को अच्छे से अच्छे हथियार दिए जाएं। जहां हमारी पुलिस और दूसरी जो हमारी सुरक्षा सेवाएं हैं उन्होंने इस देश की रक्षा के लिए, टेररिज्म को खत्म करने के लिए, कम्युनलिज्म को खत्म करने के लिए अपनी जानें दी हैं, अपना खून बहाया है वहीं उन्होंने और भी अच्छे काम किए हैं। मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि बी० एस० एफ० की तरफ से प्राईम मिनिस्टर फण्ड के लिए उन्होंने 51 हजार रुपए अपने पास से जमा करके दिए हैं। यह कितने हर्ष की बात है कि जो लोग न केवल अपना खून दे रहे हैं वे अपना पेट काटकर अपना रुपया-पैसा भी दे रहे हैं।

मान्यवर, मैं ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगी क्योंकि मैं समझती हूं कि अगर मैं दस-पांच मिनट में अपनी बात नहीं रख सकी तो मैं सारी जिंदगी नहीं बोल सकूंगी और आपके सामने कुछ नहीं कह सकूंगी। मैं सिर्फ आपके सामने यह बात रखना चाहती हूं कि अगर हम बात करते है कि हम अपनी पुलिस को मजबूत करें, हम अपनी होम मिनिस्ट्री को मजबूत करें वहां हम यह बात भी साथ में क्यों न सोचें—हमारे वालेंटरी आर्गनाइजेशंस की तरफ से और हमारी दूसरी पौलिटिकल पार्टीज की तरफ से कि हम अपने पौलिटिकल मतभेद से ऊपर उठ सकें और देश के अन्दर पीस का वातावरण बनाएं। हम देश में एक भाईचारे का वातावरण बनाएं ताकि जो हमारा रुपया और हमारे साधन पुलिस के ऊपर खर्च हो रहे हैं वह हमारे उन हजारों-लाखों गरीबों के खर्च हों जिनको एम्प्लायमेंट मिले। जैसे कि अभी आपा साहिब कुलकर्णी जी ने कहा कि टेररिस्ट्स लोग अनएम्प्लायड्स का गलत इस्तेमाल करते हैं। अगर वही रुपए और साधन हम बचा सकें तो वह हमारे अनएम्प्लायड यूथ के ऊपर हम खर्च कर सकते हैं ताकि उनको बंदूक उठाने का मौका ही न मिले। उसकी जगह वह हल और औजार हाथ में उठाए और इस देश की तरक्की में पूरा साथ दें।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आपका शुक्रिया अदा करती हूं कि आपने मुझे यहां बोलने का मौका दिया।

ALLOTMENT OF TIME FOR DISPOSAL OF GOVERNMENT AND OTHER BUSINESS

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): I have to inform Members that the Business Advisory Committee at its meeting held today the 25th April, 1988 allotted time for Government Legislative and other Business as follows :—

Business	*Time allotted*
1. Motion for reference of the Shipping Agents (Licensing) Bill, 1987 to the Joint Committee of the Houses.	30 mts.
2. Consideration and passing/return of the following Bills :—	
(a) The Companies (Amendment) Bill, 1987,	1 day
(b) The Hospitals and Other Institutions (Redressal of Grievances of Employees) Bill, 1987.	3 hrs.
(c) The Rajghat Samadhi (Amendment) Bill, 1988.	1 hrs.
(d) The Finance Bill, 1988.	2 days
(e) The Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1988.	1 day
3. Discussion on the working of the following Ministries :—	
(a) Home Affairs	2 days
(b) Agriculture	1 day
(c) Human Resource Development	1 day

The Committee recommended that the House should sit upto 6-00 P.M. daily and beyond 6-00 P.M. as and when necessary, for the transaction of Government Business from today, the 25th April, 1988

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu & Kashmir): I think we can sit up to 6.00 P.M. from tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): No, from today.